

New Migrant Communities in Leeds

July 2008

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**A RESEARCH REPORT
COMMISSIONED BY
LEEDS CITY COUNCIL**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Leeds City Council and the research team would like to thank all of the participants who gave their time to either take part in this research project or to help us gain access to new and established communities. Confidentiality excludes us from naming individuals but we would like to acknowledge all the new migrant workers, established community residents, employers, trade unions, community workers, interpreters and service providers without whom this study would not have been possible.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

This research was commissioned by Leeds City Council as part of its strategy for developing a better understanding of the situation of new migrant communities living in Leeds¹. The project is based around the need to gather information on the experiences and needs of A8 migrants, the implications for services and the impact upon Leeds communities.

In an era characterised by increasing global mobility and economic migration (King, 1995) the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004 saw rights to reside and work in the UK extended to A8 nationals for the first time. The expansion of the EU has triggered both a growth and increased diversity of migration flows into Britain. Consequently immigration as a process has entered both public and political discourses and is frequently associated with debates around community cohesion (Zetter *et al*, 2006).

At the national level a range of government agencies (including the Department for Communities and Local Government and the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights) are charged with promoting community cohesion and equality within and between communities. In light of the Cantle report (2005) the Government's community cohesion agenda has stressed the link

between people's sense of belonging to places, respect for difference, and good community relations (Home Office, 2003, 2005). However, in areas across Britain, such as Leeds, local authorities are often faced with the reality of ensuring good neighbourhood and community relations in the face of increased migration in localities already characterised by multi-ethnic communities.

Some commentators, such as Trevor Phillips, have claimed that Britain is 'sleepwalking' into a society segregated along ethnic lines. Although the evidence to support this view is limited (Dorling, 2005), concerns that multicultural pluralism may have negative impacts on community cohesion remain. For example, the recent Commission on Integration and Cohesion's report (2007:9) notes that this may be particularly the case in, "ethnically diverse urban areas experiencing new migration, such as inner cities in the major metropolitan areas". Alongside this note of caution, the same report also emphasises that notions of mutual respect and civility may act as the basis for a shared national vision of 'Britishness' with the potential to unify the diverse communities living side by side in contemporary Britain.

The new influx of A8 economic migrants needs to be understood in the context of successive waves of migrants who have long contributed to the economic, political, social and cultural shaping of British society (Winder, 2004). While A8 migration is a significant new wave, it is important to observe that despite

¹ Since 1st May 2004 workers from the new EU Member States have been free to come live and work in the UK; a Government decision based on the perceived fiscal benefit of these migrants to the UK economy. Nationals from the eight eastern European States, also known as the A8 (Accession 8) are required to register employment with the Home Office through the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS). The A8 states are: Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Maltese and Cypriot nationals were also part of the 2004 enlargement but have full freedom of movement rights and are not required to register as workers. From 1st January 2007 nationals of Bulgaria and Romania were granted the same free movement rights as existing EEA nationals throughout all EU Member States. However, nationals from these states, also known as the A2 (Accession 2), have limited access to the UK labour market. This study did not include any Bulgarian or Romanian migrants (e.g. entering under the Highly Skilled Migrants programme) and therefore we use the term A8 to cover the above described Accession 8 nationalities. Throughout the report we also refer to these A8 nationals in Leeds as 'new migrant workers' (NMW).

much attention on A8 migrants since EU enlargement, Office for National Statistics (ONS) figures show that A8 migration comprised only 16% of non-British long term in-migration (defined as stays of over 12 months) in 2005-06; whereas migration from the New Commonwealth made up 26% (ICoCo, 2007a). It is within such a national policy context that this research project is embedded.

NATIONAL DATA SOURCES ON A8 MIGRANT NUMBERS

The most recently available report estimates that just over one million A8 migrants have arrived in the UK since 2004 (Pollard et al, 2008). It is important to note that there is not a single, all-inclusive system in place to measure the movement of people into or out of the UK. As a consequence, there is no definitive data on the number of A8 migrants living or working in a particular area (Boden and Stillwell, 2006). Alongside this, there is a general recognition that official statistics on migration are inadequate (ICoCo, 2007a); so much so that upon reviewing sources of data outside of the Office for National Statistics, Rees and Bowden (2006) recommended that a 'new migrant databank' be created integrating census, administrative and survey datasets. Currently a new databank is being developed at the University of Leeds with a view to improving nationally available migration datasets in the future. In the meantime, there are several available data sources that can provide some localised insights into A8 New Migrant Workers (NMW); most commonly utilised are the National Insurance database (NINo) and Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) database. Both have limitations in that there are time lags between

arrival and registration and the data also doesn't record those who leave the UK so an accurate picture of NMW in the country at any one time remains elusive. Both NINo and WRS, however, can give a partial (underestimated) picture of NMW nationally, regionally and locally and the NINo rather than WRS is thought of as more comprehensive and the closest to reality (Matthews, 2006). Additional sources of potentially useful local data are contained within the first health registration of new arrivals (Flag 4), the annual School Census (PLASC), the Higher Education Statistics Agency count of students, Electoral Registers and the Labour Force Survey.

The increasing regional significance of A8 NMW are highlighted by the following statistics:

- In 2002-03 approximately 100 new NI (National Insurance) numbers were issued in Yorkshire and the Humber for A8 nationals. By 2005-06 this figure was nearly 19,000 and by 2006-07 just over 23,000 had registered. This 2006-07 figure represents 9% of the total A8 registrations in England (263,400; which is 16% higher than the previous year).
- Leeds is ranked 8th in the list of local authorities in England to receive A8 NI registrations. The only non-London local authorities to receive more A8 NI registrations than Leeds are Birmingham and Manchester.
- Nationally, 86% of the A8 NI registrations are from Poles, Slovaks and Lithuanians. Leeds is the sixth most popular destination for Poles, but does not feature in the top ten list for Slovaks² or Lithuanians.

² Bradford however, is the most popular location in the whole of England for Slovaks. A comparison of NINo and WRS data by West Yorkshire BME Housing Market Study (2007) finds that migrants are not necessarily living in the same places that they are working in, with a suggestion that some new migrants working in Leeds may be living in Bradford; this finding may therefore be pertinent for Slovaks in particular.

- NINo records NI applications from not just A8 nationals but also other non-British nationals working in the UK. Analysis of these total figures illustrate that in 2005-06 the percentage of NI numbers issued to A8 nationals in Yorkshire and the Humber was nearly 40% of the total applications received. The Polish are the most numerous group to register in Yorkshire and the Humber, but Pakistanis, Indians, Iraqis and Chinese all outnumber the next largest A8 group which is Slovaks (Boden and Stillwell, 2006).
- The Yorkshire and the Humber region in 2005-06 had above national average proportions of people from Poland, Slovak Republic and Latvia (Matthews, 2006).
- In 2005-06, almost 20% of the total number of NI registrations in Yorkshire and the Humber were to new migrants resident in Leeds, with a further 12% in each of Bradford and Sheffield (Boden and Stillwell, 2006).

Against such a backdrop of the partial mapping of new migrant communities, it is perhaps not surprising that Stenning et al (2006) have commented that at the local and regional scale, responses to A8 migration have been largely reactive and piecemeal. The need to understand the implications of contemporary migration dynamics is underpinned by the lack of accurate data, and limited information about how new migrants actually *experience* life in the UK (Robinson and Reeve, 2006). It is to the latter challenge that this research report is oriented.

In line with the requirements outlined in the original tender

document the research team used a range of qualitative techniques to explore four key issues:

- The scale of new migration in Leeds (including factors such as intended length of stay and whether people who arrived alone are intending to bring their families over at a later date, etc.)
- The experiences and needs of new migrants in Leeds.
- The implications of the new dynamics of migration for service provision within the city (including housing and homelessness, education, health, community safety, social care and employment).
- The impact of new migration on established communities³.

METHODS AND STUDY DESIGN: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

This study combined a literature/policy review, individual key informant interviews and focus groups and semi-structured interviews with newly arrived A8 migrants, established communities and service providers. The fieldwork outlined below focused on the needs, experiences and expectations of the A8 new migrant populations resident in Leeds, and their relationships with wider established host communities. Additionally it considered the impact of the new A8 migrant populations on local service provision.

Generating the fieldwork data

A total of 89 participants were interviewed in the course of the fieldwork. Of these, 10 were key informants, 34 new A8 migrants, 24 members of established

³ The term established community is used in this research to refer to participants who were either born in Leeds or have been resident in Leeds for five or more years.

communities in Leeds and 21 were directly involved in the provision and/or administration of local public services, such as Leeds City Council (LCC) services. For further details of the sample see tables 1-4 below. All interviews were conducted in Leeds⁴ between January 7th and February 27th 2008. Individual interviews lasted approximately 1 hour. Focus groups and interviews ranged from 1 hour to 1½ hours duration. A range of appropriate locations were used for the interviews, including participants' offices, homes and community centres. In order to ensure consistency of approach across the research team, a common set of question guides was developed (refer Annex 1). These were structured to ensure that discussions remained focused but also allowed participants the space to develop their own approach in responding. Question guides were piloted and refined in initial interviews.

Handling/analysis of data and ethical considerations

Two basic principles, namely informed consent and anonymity (Lewis, 2003) underpinned the fieldwork; all participants were informed about the research prior to participation and were free to withdraw at any point. Where required an appropriate interpreter was present at the interviews with new migrants and established communities. All tapes were fully interpreted and transcribed for analysis. Further detail about the research methods utilised in this project can be found in Annex 1.

The subsequent chapters of this report draw on data generated in the field to provide new empirical evidence about the character and impact of the recent influx of A8 migrants to Leeds. It is hoped that the grounded insights presented in this report will inform future service development and planning and,

Table 1. Key informant participants

| KEY INFORMANT NO. | ROLE AND ORGANISATION |
|-------------------|--|
| K11 | Recruitment agency specialising in new migrant labour |
| K12 | Manager for a company in the hotel/hospitality sector that employs new migrants |
| K13 | Community worker with Polish migrants |
| K14 | Services manager for a logistics/distribution company that employs new migrants |
| K15 | a) Human resources manager b) Group head of corporate responsibility c) Training manager for Leeds operations All work for a logistics/distribution company that employs new migrants |
| K16 | Regional representative of a trade union |
| K17 | Community worker for new Roma migrants |
| K18 | Human resources manager of a food manufacturer which employs new migrants |

⁴ K18 was located in a town adjacent to the LCC boundary. Some of the A8 migrant workers at the factory travelled from Leeds to their place of work.

ultimately, lead to an improvement in the lives of both the established

communities of Leeds and those who are relatively new to the city.

Table 2. New migrant participants

| CODE NUMBER AND NAME NO. | INTERVIEW TYPE | NUMBERS AND GENDER | AGE RANGE |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| FG1 Slovak workers | Focus group | 3 men 3 women | Late 20s- mid 50s |
| FG2 Polish men | Focus group | 8 men | 20s – late 50s |
| FG3 Polish women | Focus group | 9 women | 20s to mid 50s |
| ROMA1 | Joint interview | 1 man 2 women | 30s to early70s |
| ROMA 2 | Joint interview | 2 women | Late teens/ late 30s |
| ROMA 3 | Joint interview | 2 men 1 woman | Late teens to 50 |

Table 3. Focus groups with established communities

| CODE NUMBER AND NAME | INTERVIEW TYPE | NUMBERS AND GENDER | AGE RANGE |
|----------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| FG5 Pakistani men | Focus group | 8 men | 40s-60s |
| FG6 Pakistani women | Focus group | 4 women | 20s-50s |
| FG7 West Indians | Focus group | 5 men 1 woman | Late 20s to 70s |
| FG8 White residents ⁵ | Focus group | 2 men 4 women | Early 20s to mid 60s |

Table 4. Focus groups with service providers

| CODE NUMBER AND NAME | INTERVIEW TYPE | NUMBERS AND SERVICES REPRESENTED ⁶ |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|--|
| SP1 Housing and community relations | Focus group | 7 participants: Community safety x 3 Jobs and Skills Housing Services Social housing provider Regeneration |
| SP2 Health and social care | Focus group | 8 participants: Asylum/migration service x 2 Adult social care Primary care trusts x 3 One stop centres x 2 |
| SP3 Education and children’s services | Focus group | 7 participants: Education Leeds x 4 Children’s centre worker School x 2 |

⁵ One participant was of mixed heritage.

⁶ In order to protect the anonymity of participants who took part in the service provider focus groups the precise job titles of individuals have been replaced with a more general statement of the service area in which they work.

The subsequent chapters of this report draw directly on the data generated in the fieldwork with the above participants:

- **Chapter 2** explores the migratory movements of the A8 NMW in Leeds; it considers issues such as the motivations underpinning migration to Leeds, length of stay and the notion of a 'typical migrant'.
- **Chapter 3** discusses the world of paid work from the points of view of new migrants, employers and other key informants; additionally issues highlighted by established communities are also discussed. The range of issues considered includes employment sectors and types of job, contracts, recruitment, training and qualifications.
- **Chapter 4** presents data that relates to neighbourhood and community relations in Leeds. Topics considered are established communities' perceptions of the impacts of A8 migrants on their neighbourhoods and the level and types of interaction that occur between established communities and A8 migrants.
- **Chapter 5** explores issues around welfare provision and service delivery; housing, healthcare, education and social security are discussed. The effects of new A8 migration upon welfare services and how this may impact on available resources and established communities are also considered. Two more general issues, a lack of coherent data and the importance of English language capability, are also addressed.
- **Chapter 6** offers conclusions, key findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2. MIGRATION PATTERNS

This chapter provides an overview of participants' perspectives on the migration patterns of NMW in Leeds. Much of the data presented is drawn from the new migrant groups involved with the research, with additional insights from relevant key informants. By far the most numerous A8 population in Leeds is the Polish community, which accounted for 66% of WRS applicants between 1st May 2004 and 31st December 2006, with the Latvians (11%) and Slovaks (9%) forming the next largest groups (LSC Yorkshire and Humber, 2007). One of the interview respondents expressed the view that Leeds is benefiting from a shortage of jobs in London ('*London is pretty full basically*', (Key Informant 3 [K13] Polish community worker) and hence the city is attractive as it is perceived as an economically buoyant destination for migrants. Although saturation of London's job market is largely fanciful (for example, 40% of the arrivals from A8 countries in 2003/04 settled in London), Leeds has had a long migration history in the 20th century and NMW are clearly continuing this trend in the 21st century.

MOTIVATIONS FOR MIGRATION

The success of the UK in attracting numbers of A8 workers has been attributed to a number of factors by Stenning *et al* (2006). These include sustained economic growth, low and differentiated (regressive) tax system, the English language, the relatively open and cosmopolitan nature of the society, and the more entrepreneurial culture (compared to some European countries). Throughout the study the key migration motivation for participating A8 NMW was the desire to enter the UK paid labour market. This pre-

eminence of economic motivation appears to have been largely driven by the favourable disparity in wage earning potential between countries of origin and the UK.

There are no jobs in Slovakia and the wages are very low. One week wage is as much as one month wage in Slovakia. (FG1 Slovak)

We are doing easy work for small money. But small money here is big money in Poland. If we did the same in Poland — we would have no money. (FG2 Polish men)

They are totally motivated by wages. That's all it's about. (KI5 logistics/distribution company)

The desire to find work was also a key incentive for the Roma families but it was combined with the physical threat of racism at home and the desire to provide better and safer environments for their children. (Travellers Health Partnership Report, 2006). The opportunity to secure a job and earn money is a valued element of their lives in Leeds, but this augmented by a desire to escape persecution and discrimination in their country of origin. Experiences of harassment remain an element of everyday life for some NMW in Leeds (see Chapter 4) but the Roma participants feel more secure and able to express their ethnic identity in Leeds.

R1: Here I am a gypsy. In Slovakia I am not a gypsy- we don't have our own country. We are feeling here free because there are other nationalities. No one cares about me and that is good, just some lady. (Roma 1, daughter)

I think it is better here because in my country there are no jobs and the racism in Slovakia is bad. In Slovakia they know we are gypsies and they don't like us. (Roma 3 son)

However, participants in the Polish women's group also spoke of an additional motivation for migration beyond greater earning capacity. They expressed enhanced feelings of liberation due to the 'freedoms' that followed European accession and said that they wanted to broaden their horizons through the experience of living in the UK (see also Spencer *et al*, 2007).

R1: It is school of life

R2: The experience is important because we learn something

R3: Living in multicultural society opens up your mind. In Poland we have like one nation so we have lots of prejudices and here you can get rid of them and try to cross the border. (FG3 Polish women)

LENGTH OF STAY

Within the sample, participants expressed a range of views about the length of stay for NMW in Leeds. Experiences varied from a short period of no more than a few months (for example during a university vacation), right through to permanent settlement.

It fluctuates. It's different.... they very often come for just 3 months and go back and the next summer they come again. There is a certain percentage of people who have stayed and are

*planning to stay... How many?
Probably 50%.
(K11 recruitment agency)*

Managers at a major Leeds employer concurred with the suggestion that length of stay varied but a significant number of NMW are staying for periods in excess of 12 months.

R1: It's very, very mixed. Some people come over for a short time.

*R2: About 6 months. But then we have people, we have significantly larger proportion of them have been here for 12 months and for all intents and purposes to stay here and settle.
(K15 logistics/distribution company)*

Commonly NMW tended to see their presence in Leeds as finite. They envisage ultimately returning back to their country of origin after a year or two.

The situation is that about half of us will return after one year home... replaced by new people. (FG1 Slovak)

Forever — no. For some time — maybe. Maybe for 1 year or two. Not forever. (FG3 Polish women)

Such 'intentional' data should be read with caution. Other studies (e.g. Spencer et al, 2007) have observed differences between participants' stated intended length of stay and the actual duration of their period of residence. As people come to acknowledge the potential benefits of migration they remain for longer periods and/or may take up permanent residence.

They plan to go back to Poland. Quite a few don't because the life here is so

*much easier. And quite peaceful and they realise that the possibilities here are much greater than in Poland. So they will stay here.
(K13 Polish community worker)*

It should be noted that in earlier waves of labour migration to the UK many migrants originally intended to return home following a short period of paid work. However, the reality is that many settled permanently (Dayha, 1973). This point was made by members of an established Leeds community who originally migrated in the 1950s.

I suppose it's easy to say. I come here 48 years ago; I only come for 5 years. A long 5 years! (FG7 West Indian)

However, some NMW exhibit a somewhat different tendency and exaggerate the length of their stay in order to secure employment. A hotel employer described how NMW claim that they are settling in Leeds permanently at the time of job application, whereas in reality they stay just for the summer period, earn some money and return home.

*And they all started April time, May time. Then all of a sudden in August they either told us they were leaving or they just disappeared without telling us. And they'd gone back home. They were telling us they were here permanently but actually they were only here for the summer to get jobs.
(K12 hotel/hospitality company)*

Other drivers of migration

A further possible determinant affecting the length of stay in the UK is the macro-economic picture across Europe. One service provider (SP2 Adult social care) observed that other European countries are

opening their borders to a greater degree and experiencing a period of economic growth that will attract migrant workers. For example, he has recently observed Poles leaving Leeds to seek more lucrative working opportunities in Holland. Similarly, another service provider (SP2 Asylum/migration service) urged caution as NMW are frequently employed in jobs that under-utilise their skill levels (see Chapter 3) and hence may relocate in order to access more desirable jobs. She argued that LCC should consider the labour requirements of the city over the next decade and work to attract and retain NMW (see also Stenning *et al*, 2006 for national economic projection scenarios). Additionally, the resurgence of the Polish economy, which was noted by several participants (K11 recruitment agency, K13 Polish community worker, SP2 Adult social care), was thought to be responsible for some Poles returning to their homeland in the future. The recruitment agency key informant (K11 recruitment agency) noted that they are finding it harder to attract Polish people to Leeds as the wage gap between the UK and Poland is eroding (cf. Pollard *et al*. 2008). This discussion points to the importance of understanding that waves of migration are shaped by trends and developments in other parts of the world. It is therefore increasingly important to consider the relative strengths of the economies of migrants' countries of origin alongside that of the Leeds, and more broadly the UK.

A 'TYPICAL MIGRANT'?

Immediately following the expansion of the European Union in 2004, the stereotypical A8 NMW entering the UK was characterised as male, single and in his 20s (Home Office, 2006). Individuals who migrate for the shorter periods are still likely to be single men in their 20s (perhaps

moving for a short period during their studies or immediately after their university education). They often migrate together in pairs or small groups who know each other. Such workers are still part of the European migrant labour force in Leeds, but today, the picture is much more diverse. Couples migrating together and family joiners are becoming increasingly commonplace (see also, Bradford Central and Eastern European Working Group, 2006).

An increasingly common phenomena in our sample is that the male NMW will 'lead' the migration and establish himself with a job and accommodation before bringing his partner/family over to Leeds. 'Family joiners' therefore now form a growing part of the migrant population in Leeds.

R1: My story is similar. My husband was coming first then me and my daughter.

R2: I joined my husband after two months.

R3: So did I. After 3 months.
(FG3 Polish women)

Initially it was singles, a high proportion of males to females, 18-25 yr olds. But now a lot more families are coming in, family joiners, who have started to settle down.

(SP2 Asylum/migration services)

There was also some evidence from the NMW focus groups that couples in their 20s without dependents are choosing to migrate together. A final notable group of NMW in Leeds were older migrants aged over 50 who reported difficulties in obtaining

employment in their countries of origin. They had decided to migrate to the UK in an attempt to earn more money prior to retirement.

CONCLUSIONS

- The largest numbers of A8 migrants in Leeds come from Poland, with the next most significant groups being Latvian and Slovak.
- In terms of motivations for migration, economic reasons are still paramount for most NMW, with the exception of Roma migrants who move both to access work in the UK and to escape persecution in their country of origin.
- The length of stay of NMW in Leeds varies from a few months to permanent settlement.
- It is problematic to attempt to identify a 'typical' A8 NMW but it would appear that increasingly couples are now migrating together and family joiners are present in significant numbers alongside the more stereotypical male single migrant.
- In order to better predict continued and future migration flows and move towards developing pro-active planning, some degree of horizon searching will be necessary.

CHAPTER 3. WORK

INTRODUCTION

As a result of the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004, EU rights to freedom of movement were extended to citizens of the A8 states. It needs to be noted, however, that for all EU nationals such rights are subject to individuals meeting further specified conditions. For example, EU nationals who wish to reside in another member state for more than six months must satisfy at least one of the following criteria; be employed or self employed, have access to sufficient resources and health insurance to ensure they can maintain themselves without recourse to the host state's benefit/welfare system, hold student status or be a family member of a person who fits into one of the previous four noted categories. Additionally, under transitional rules introduced by the UK government following the 2004 expansion, A8 NMW are further required to register with the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) in order to legally live and work in the UK⁷. As workers who contribute through the taxation system A8, migrants are also able to access certain social security benefits but again are subject to particular rules. As soon as they start to work A8 migrants registered with the WRS have the right to access child benefits and tax credits. However, in order to be eligible for income related benefits NMW need to have worked continuously for a period of one year (see TUC, 2007 and Pollard et al. 2008 for further details)⁸.

Although some diversity of employment was present, typically the NMW interviewed in this

⁷ Refer to chapter 3 of Pollard et al. (2008) for fuller discussions.

⁸ Details will also be available on the Welcome to Leeds Website from June 2008 at www.leeds.gov.uk/welcome

research worked full-time in unskilled or semi-skilled sectors of the labour market where Leeds based employers struggled to recruit workers from the local population. Many NMW routinely initially found work through an employment agency and subsequently became permanent employees of a company after 6-13 weeks.

It is important to contextualise the data presented in this chapter. Many of the discussions relate to the situation of NMW employed in the four companies involved in this study. The data from NMW relates to their experiences of employment in other companies. Relevant key informants (e.g. the trade union and recruitment agency), however, offer more general discussions on issues about the recruitment, pay and conditions of A8 NMW. It is relevant to bear in mind that the four companies who took part in this study are reputable firms who promote relatively high standards of employee treatment and conditions. Therefore, this study has not uncovered many of the more exploitative employment practices which previous studies have highlighted (Anderson *et al*, 2006; Mackenzie and Forde, 2006; Travellers Health Partnership Report, 2006; Commission for Rural Communities, 2007, Spencer *et al*, 2007). This is not to say that these kinds of exploitative employment practices do not exist in Leeds. For example, the study did uncover some evidence of exploitative housing practices on the part of some employment agencies (refer to Chapter 6) and discussions with established communities reported that some NMW were employed on contracts that contravened the Working Time Directive and Minimum Wage legislation (see below, pp.12-14).

LABOUR MARKET SECTOR, TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The age profiles of NMW varied but the largest proportion were younger workers aged in their 20s and 30s, and a small number of older workers were interviewed who were aged 50 plus. Some of the workers interviewed were employed in companies where the majority of workers were migrants from A8 countries. NMW routinely worked alongside large numbers of fellow nationals, this was especially the case when they were employed in manual jobs and/or working less sociable hours such as night shifts.

Employment sector and types of jobs

Within the study the four companies selected as key informants were chosen because they operated in sectors in which a high concentration of NMW are employed; namely the hotel and leisure sector, warehousing and manufacturing/processing (Home Office, 2006; Migrant Workers Report, 2006; Commission for Rural Communities, 2007). The NMW participants were employed in a range of largely low-skilled, manual jobs that included warehouse operatives, packers, porters, bar and hotel workers and chefs. Employers reported a relatively high turnover of staff amongst NMW, but some NMW were settled in stable employment. The Polish NMW in particular experienced more varied types of work including high and low skilled, manual and non-manual employment.

When describing the types of work they undertook, NMW explained that they were 'hard workers' and were willing to take any kind of jobs. Employers concurred with this perspective.

...they tend to be the calibre that will go for the manual operational; you know the British people don't really want to be going for the unskilled manual jobs. They don't apply for them any more.

(K12 hotel/hospitality company)

We are a distribution centre so it is quite a fast pace. I think probably the main area is the picking area ...it's quite intense ...People have to have certain skills to be able to identify the stock, to be able to read the picking note correctly. ...Typically its quite hard work. You're on your feet constantly. You are looking at information, it's quite tiring and we have very unsociable shifts.

(K15 logistics/distribution company)

Within the four companies whose representatives were interviewed, NMW formed a growing proportion of the workforce, and most of this growth had taken place over the last year. One firm had seen its NMW workforce grow from zero to 10% in one year. In another company, 70% of their recent trainees were Eastern European. All employers said that NMW were becoming an increasingly important part of their workforce and that the numbers they employed were likely to increase in the future as they looked to fill labour shortages. The overwhelming majority of A8 NMW employed in the four companies were from Poland; between 60-80%. Employers were asked what it would mean for their business if this A8 workforce ceased to be available. Employers explained that NMW were filling vacancies that they could not rely on the existing population to take. This issue has been highlighted in large scale studies elsewhere. For example, Spencer et al (2007) found that 75% of employers felt that European

enlargement had been good for business as migrant workers do jobs under employment conditions that UK nationals are not prepared to accept (see also Dench *et al*, 2006). There was also some evidence that A8 migrants were working in sections of the company where specialist market knowledge was required, particularly where the business was expanding into new Eastern European markets.

...we have a number of people working in our exports department who are Eastern European. Particularly good because we export to Eastern Europe.

(K15 logistics/distribution company 2)

Any reduction in the availability of A8 migrant labour in the future would have severe repercussions for companies. One key informant explained 'we would have to seriously look at other locations' for new migrant workers (K14 logistics/distribution company).

We would be very much in dire straits. In the kitchen, in housekeeping and in conference. ... The whole of my team, we've got a team of 7 kitchen porters and 5 of them are Polish. Very reliant on them.

(K12 hotel/hospitality company)

The NMW in this study were taking up previously unfilled vacancies in local paid labour markets. In this sense they cannot be considered to be taking jobs away from local people. They were regarded by employers as an increasingly important core resource that contributed in a positive way to local businesses and the development of the local economy (see also Bradford Central and Eastern European Working Group, 2006; Audit Commission, 2007).

Contracts, pay and working conditions

The majority of NMW were employed full-time 37.5 or 40 hours a week and contracted to the company on a permanent basis. Over-time was paid at a higher rate and, in line with other studies (Mackenzie and Forde, 2006), it was found that all workers were employed on, or above, the minimum wage. Employers and new migrants talked of NMW having equal access to paid holidays and being on the same contracts and rotational shifts as established workers.

Many of the NMW had originally found employment via an employment agency. NMW, however, commented positively on the benefits of being employed directly by a company as opposed to working for an agency.

R1: Now we are paid for breaks and for overtime, they would not pay for holidays and bank holidays.

R2: When there was no work the agency closed down and when there was little work the first people to be laid off were those working through agency. (FG1 Slovak)

I used to work for [company name] as a data analyst. It was job through the agency. It was dead end job. Very boring. It was not good. While working through the agency you do not get all the privileges. It is always better to work on the contract. (FG3 Polish women)

This study has found evidence that some employment agencies are not complying with legislation that requires them to provide paid breaks, holidays and redundancy notices.

Many of the NMW who found themselves in this position were aware that the agencies were acting illegally but felt that they were not in a position to challenge them and so kept quiet. Rates of pay varied amongst the sample according to the type of employment; many of the Polish workers were in higher skilled jobs being paid well above the minimum wage. The older Polish workers tended to be in lower skilled, lower paid jobs. With one exception, all of the Slovakian and Roma participants were in lower paid manual jobs paid at, or just above, the minimum wage.

However, the trade union and Polish community worker key informants cited evidence of NMW being paid below the minimum wage (also see Travellers Health Partnership Report, 2006). Interviews with established communities also revealed that some NMW were being employed locally in informal/irregular employment with little protection and poor wage levels; perhaps approaching practices of 'forced labour' (Anderson and Rogaly, 2006).

There's the aspect of the not knowing what their rights are. There's also the aspect that because of the language barrier they do what they are told. (K16 Trade Union)

While the Polish workers were employed across a wider range of labour market sectors, this was not the case for Slovakian and Roma workers. This study found some evidence that employment hierarchies exist within the new A8 migrant workforce according to nationality (see also, McIlwaine *et al*, 2006). For example, the six Slovakian participants worked together on the night shift at a factory. Initially they had chosen to work nights simply because the shifts were longer hours (12 hours instead of 8) and they could earn more

money. They explained how this shift system had led them to *'live like moles...we sleep through the day and in the evening we go to work'* (FG1 Slovak). They also spoke of how Slovaks were employed in the worst paid jobs in their factory and how they felt disadvantaged vis a vis the Polish workers and also Kurdish workers (a significant group within the factory). Thus they found it extremely difficult to move into better jobs because they lacked connections within informal hierarchies in the company workforce to access more preferable employment conditions. The Roma workers, with one exception, were all in low skilled, low paid jobs and one respondent also spoke of employment agencies prioritising Polish workers. All of these participants were dissatisfied with their working conditions and, like the respondents in the Spencer *et al* (2007) study, were trying to improve their English which they believed would enable them to get better jobs.

To some degree it is inevitable that more established new migrant groups will occupy privileged positions within the NM workforce. Polish workers form the largest single A8 NM group (Home Office, 2006; Audit Commission, 2007), as a result of its size and migration history there are specialist Polish recruitment agencies and the established Polish community has worked hard to support new Polish migrants in Leeds. One young Roma respondent, who had been educated in Leeds for two years and spoke very good English, told of how;

I go everyday to agency and they say there is no work. I would be happy with a job but people from Poland get jobs but not me? There is a little discrimination in the agency. But Polish can get job. Banks translate in Polish but nothing in Slovak
(Roma 3 Son)

Although perhaps relatively privileged when compared to other nationalities, Polish migrant workers also face disadvantages within the workplace. Often these centre around issues of language competency and the transferability of qualifications (Learning and Skills Council, 2007). For example, the Polish migrants in higher skilled jobs all spoke good English, whereas the Poles in lower skilled jobs, the Slovaks and Roma (with a few exceptions) tended to speak very little English (see further discussions in respect of English language capability on pp.32-34).

Some workers also complained about health and safety conditions in their workplaces. One Polish worker explained how he had been injured at work due to unsafe equipment and was now unable to work. The Slovak participants all spoke of the poor conditions in their factory due to the production requiring cold temperatures.

It's very hard work. There is only 5 to 7 degrees Celsius and we are working through the night. It is not good for our health.
(FG1 Slovak)

However, it is also important to note that some of the NMW we interviewed were extremely satisfied with their work;

From my perspective I am extremely happy with my company. Salary is great.
(FG2 Polish men)

I worked fulltime in a firm on a permanent contract for three years without discrimination. No problems
(Roma 3 father)

Recruitment and the Workers Registration Scheme

The most common route to paid employment was via employment agencies but the majority of migrant workers in the study were made permanent between 6 and 13 weeks after initial employment. Some notable exceptions can be identified however. For example, one Roma worker explained how she was the longest serving agency worker in her factory and had been there for three and half years on a temporary contract (Roma 2 Mother). Not all of the companies in this study used employment agencies. One firm had developed its own word-of-mouth recruitment networks through existing staff and no longer used an agency ('our Polish employees telling other Polish people about the jobs and lots of word of mouth'; K14 logistics/distribution company), whilst another recruited via adverts only. Where agencies were used, one employer stressed that they audit the agency practices.

We will audit you for the appropriate paperwork. We'll audit you to ensure that you aren't ripping these people off. .. we insist on how much they pay their workers. And we say, we will honour your profit margin. But if we ever find out that you are not paying you will never work for us again. Every now and again we get one of our Polish people to say, you know, are you being paid ok.
(K15 logistics/distribution company)

None the less, there is some evidence from NMW and the trade union key representative (K16 trade union) that some workers remain on agency books for up to 2 years. This key informant was hopeful that the Temporary and Agency Workers (Prevention of Less Favourable Treatment) Bill being considered by Parliament will help protect agency

workers in the future by specifying that they are made permanent employees after 13 weeks on site. All of the employers that we interviewed were already complying with these regulations.

All of the employers and the majority of the NMW were aware of the requirement to register with the Workers Registration Scheme. One of the key difficulties identified by employers is the administrative burden that employing a NMW can place on the company. All of the employers interviewed provided some degree of assistance with registration.

...it just creates more admin. ...We have to get all that and then send it off to Sheffield who quite often lose the documents and they have to pay.
(K14 logistics/distribution company)

Lots of red tape. ...It does actually take more resources because clearly there are ramifications for not following the procedures.
(K15 logistics/distribution company 2)

Training, career progression and qualifications

Employers cited examples of training they provided, some of this was basic operative skills training, but one employer also provided English language classes and two other companies accommodated shift patterns to enable NMW to attend English classes. Language related support training is in great demand and resources were such in one company that they had greater demand than supply and employees were waiting for this training. Most of the companies also paid NMW to translate training materials and other information for new employees. There were also examples of

employers using buddy schemes whereby they drew upon the language skills of more established NMW to support new employees.

...through ESOL we have like an informal buddying system. We put someone to people what we call ESOL super users, fast track them through, not just the basic language, very high language so that those people assist in their inducting. (K15 logistics/distribution company)

Two employers had support systems in place for helping employees set up bank accounts. One company had been approached by a local bank and another had an arrangement with a Credit Union. They explained that most of their NMW tend to arrive without a UK bank account. Research has shown that NMW are disadvantaged in terms of financial services and many of them experience difficulties in opening bank accounts (Mackenzie and Forde, 2006; Commission for Rural Communities, 2007). This is an important service which indicates the support role that 'good' employers can play in enhancing the settlement of NMW.

We also found some examples of career progression amongst NMW within the companies we sampled.

I've got an example of a Polish person who started about 14-15 months ago, he started off as a linen porter, his English was good, he'd been to university in Poland, we had a conference porter driver vacancy so he transferred over to conference porter... And then we had a supervisor vacancy and he applied along with external candidates and some other UK internal candidates and we actually gave it to him. (K12 hotel/hospitality company)

In line with other studies (Mackenzie and Forde, 2006; Bradford Central and Eastern European Working Group, 2006), it was found that a large proportion of NMW were over qualified for the jobs they were doing, and little evidence was found of 'ethnic entrepreneurialism' (Stenning *et al*, 2006) as most NMW are in relatively low-skilled work.

They treat Polish education like second category. I was treated like this in a private agency. They did not have any respect for Polish education. They did not take it into account. I was quite high in Poland as a physiotherapist. Here I did not work as a physiotherapist. (FG3 Polish women)

This was confirmed by the employer interviews. However, we also found that quite a few of the Polish workers had skilled jobs that matched their qualifications and experience. This was not the case for the Slovakian factory workers as many of them were highly educated. For example, one respondent was a computer programmer, another was a trained chef. However, a major distinguishing factor is that of fluency in English. The highly qualified Polish workers working in jobs congruent with their skill levels all spoke good English. The Roma migrants were in a significantly different position, in that migration to Leeds had enabled them find employment sometimes for the first time as discrimination in Slovakia had meant that many of them were not highly educated and had experienced long periods of unemployment.

WORK RELATIONSHIPS

Much of the focus of the increasing amount of policy/academic literature on integration and cohesion is oriented towards how migrants may

be enabled through local neighbourhood spaces, activities and processes (in schools, community centres and so on) to integrate successfully. Relatively little attention is paid to the working arena as a potential space of mixing and integration between A8 NMW and the established workforce. This study uncovered some examples of positive interaction through work events.

What was nice was that, erm, we have a social club and every year we have a Christmas party.... mix was probably 50/50. And, erm, there was some education amongst the men with regard to alcohol games. You could see almost like a defrosting of the atmosphere. People who were out and out Yorkshire republicans, as it were, actually started talking to them.

(K14 logistics/distribution company)

Another employer observed that relations between NMW and indigenous workers markedly improved over time.

R: I think initially that may be the case [referring to lack of workplace mixing], especially if you have a large group of people. Say for instance a training group, they will tend to, I won't say isolate themselves, but stick together. They'll all sit at the same lunch table. Maybe that group may get smaller and what we find is that people do actually befriend other people outside that group. Now obviously there's a lot of political background today, as we've already said, going on. I think people have got different views. I think we try and ensure that people leave their viewpoint at the clocking in machine in terms of the workplace, because we all have to work together. And yes some people out there have got quite strong

views. So we try not to let it get in the way. Eventually people will befriend other people, but not straightaway. (K15 logistics/distribution company 2)

This employer attributes improvements in workplace relations over time to a strict policy of non-segregation in the warehouse that prohibits the clustering of particular nationalities around specific work tasks. This helps to ensure that mixing across nationalities in the warehouse occurs. The Polish women's group in particular also noted that workplace relations between themselves and their supervisors were better than in Poland, and they also receive greater levels of support whilst pregnant.

R1: It is better here and my employer is really flexible because I am also studying now at the University of Leeds. They made it possible for me, they cut my hours and I can work flexi hours as well. They treat you like a human.

R2: I think for women here it is less scary to get pregnant. It is big advantage from living in Britain. In Poland it is not accepted when you get pregnant as an employee. Here you get some respect when you are pregnant. FG3 Polish women)

A more complex picture is offered by one of the employers.

There's two cores. Its almost like, it's..... you've got the core, but you've got, it's like a greying at the edges but from both sides. So here [on diagram just sketched; pointing to the middle section of 2 slightly overlapping circles] we effectively get quite a lot of integration. But you get the pockets of indigenous population who won't talk

to people with a different accent. You've got Polish people who just want to come to work and not integrate. And then you've got, and its getting bigger, where you know it's a classic example when one of my security guards says, I can say 12 words in Polish now. That sort of thing. But there is still going to be the core. And in fairness its not, there's no hostility, there's just lack of integration. But you see that blurring more and more. (K14 logistics/distribution company)

This employer continued to say that prejudice from the indigenous workers had recently occurred in their workplace, i.e. a spate of BNP slogans had appeared in the toilets. Another employer picked up on the theme of a reluctance to integrate among a group of NMW. This was evidenced by a reluctance amongst this group to speak English at work.

Polish, because they are quite clicky. But it alienates other people in their department. So one of the things we have done is we've banned them talking in their own language unless they are in the staff canteen. We've said when they are on their breaks, they are not in our employment, it's their own time they can speak however they like. But if they are on public corridors, in the restaurant or anywhere then they need to speak English. (K12 hotel/hospitality company)

The Slovaks in contrast felt it was purely due to the range of nationalities in their factory (Kurdish, Indian, Polish, Slovak, Israeli) that multiple languages were spoken by the different groups which made communication, and mixing, difficult. Several of the employers also commented on the much vaunted 'work ethic' of NMW (Anderson *et al*, 2006; Dench *et al*,

2006) in terms of higher productivity levels and willingness to 'go the extra mile' (K14 logistics/distribution company). This appears to coincide with stereotypical national/ethnic characterisations of NMW that may cause resentment from established workers. The Polish community worker provided a different perspective, however, when she commented that the Poles have now almost become a hostage to fortune because of their reputation as hard workers. She commented that they initially gave '200% of what the English people were giving' (K13 Polish community worker) in order to prove themselves. Subsequently they were expected to maintain these high productivity indefinitely. This viewpoint is partially corroborated by one of the employers who suggested that employees who had been with them more than 12 months were beginning to become less reliable, i.e. starting to go off sick and poor time keeping etc. (K12 hotel/hospitality company).

CONCLUSIONS

With regard to working lives of NMW the key findings are;

- Within the four companies whose representatives we interviewed, NMW formed a growing proportion of the workforce, and most of this growth had taken place over the last year.
- The employers we spoke to unanimously saw the influx of new migrant labour from Eastern and Central Europe as a valuable resource that enabled them to fill labour shortages. This refutes the rhetoric around 'they're stealing our jobs' that is explored in Chapter 5.
- The majority of A8 NMW first enter the labour market through

employment agencies and hence are initially routinely employed on temporary contracts. Many move onto more stable permanent contracts after a few months, although some of the migrants we interviewed remained on temporary contracts.

- This study has found evidence that some employment agencies are not complying with legislation that requires them to provide paid breaks, holidays and redundancy notices.
- Employers spoke of the administrative burden created by the Workers Registration Scheme and the difficulties encountered by their employees in paying the £90 registration fee.
- The study found that a minority of NMW were over qualified for their jobs. The Slovak and Roma participants worked entirely in manual labour sectors whereas some of the Poles have moved into more highly skilled jobs. This is especially true for those with good English communication skills and appropriate qualifications. We also found some examples of career progression amongst NMW within the companies we sampled.
- The study found evidence of employment hierarchies amongst the generic population of NMW. Roma and Slovaks were more likely to experience de-skilling and be employed in mundane manual work.
- With regard to relationships at work, examples of positive mixing in the workplace were identified. These were observed to enhance over time, but it is also true to say that there is reluctance amongst certain sections of both NMW and non-NMW to mix and integrate within the workplace.
- This study uncovered some examples of positive interaction through work events and increased tendencies towards mixing between NMW and their more established work colleagues over time, indicating that in some circumstances the workplace can support processes of integration and settlement.

CHAPTER 4. NEIGHBOURHOOD AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

A key aim of this research is to explore the impact of new A8 migration on neighbourhoods and communities in Leeds with a view to enhancing community relations between the two groups. Ensuring community cohesion in this way has been a long-standing policy objective of successive British governments (Zetter et al, 2006). Initially this chapter explores the impact of A8 migration on established communities in Leeds. It does this via an analysis of data generated in focus groups with established Pakistani, West Indian⁹ and white communities. Discussions then move on to consider the extent to which new migrant and established communities interact with each other in their everyday lives.

As with the previous chapter it is important to contextualise this study, in that focus groups were run with specific groups within BME and white communities. Therefore the views discussed below are not intended to reflect the community as a whole but they are examples of specific experiences which may carry resonance for broader community experiences and attitudes to new migration. This data points to some of the important work needed to ensure 'good community relations' in the face of increased community diversity.

IMPACTS ON ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES

The established communities involved in the research had, at times, converging perspectives with regard to the impact of NMW on their communities. However, there is also evidence of the three established communities holding significantly different views on certain issues. This point was perhaps the most striking part of the findings in this section and urges careful consideration of the heterogeneous makeup of 'established communities' and particular attention to the differences within and between different groups.

Awareness of new migration into the local area

All three established communities believed NMW from A8 countries to be present in significant numbers in their neighbourhoods. The participants talked about seeing Eastern European migrants on the streets, witnessing specialist shops springing up, hearing new languages and coming across A8 migrants in a range of locations such as parks, shops, doctor's waiting rooms, and schools. In terms of how long they thought the migrants would stay; the perceptions were mixed.

The West Indian group talked in much more positive and embracing ways about the NMW in their neighbourhood than either of the other two established communities. Much of their discussion centred upon the common experience of being a migrant, in spite of the fact that the movement and settlement of West Indians had occurred up to fifty years earlier in the case of some participants.

⁹ The term West Indian rather than African-Caribbean is used because this was the chosen term used by the community group where participants were recruited

There's always going to be difficulty right at the beginning. Until you start mingling with people its difficult to have an inter-relationship with people. But sometimes you meet in the shops and you would say, you'd look and think, that face looks strange, hello how are you, what are you looking for? How are you settling in? And things like that. You make yourself more like available to help them because of the experience that you had when you came here. Because of the difficulty that we had when we arrived in the early 50s ... if we see a strange face you try to make that face feel welcome. (FG7 West Indian)

The West Indians expressed considerable acceptance of the NMW and articulated pride in their tolerance of people from other countries, cultures and faiths coming to live alongside them. Having themselves previously experienced difficulties following their arrival in Britain in the 1950s, they empathised with any experiences of discrimination and non-acceptance that NMW might be encountering in Leeds ('when we come here in the 50s, 60s we were fighting teddy boys with chains and what not'; FG7 West Indian). They felt it was their 'duty' to welcome new community members into their neighbourhood irrespective of their ethnic origins.

In contrast, the perspectives of the white and Pakistani groups were more complex and contradictory. Despite concerns about the impact of NMW in their neighbourhood (see below), a member of the Pakistani men's group felt that new migrant workers have brought with them a particular work ethic and skill base that was beneficial for the local economy.

We have seen these people at shops, car wash and etc. They are working

very hard as well. They are bringing new skills and ideas they are helping in the local economy. They have good builders and plumbers. (FG5 Pakistani men)

Alongside the many concerns expressed by the white group (see below sections which indicate complex and seemingly contradictory perspectives in this group), the white participants felt that NMW enhanced the ethnic diversity of their neighbourhood in a positive way and, by and large, they had no grievance at all with *individual* migrants.

R1: I've got no objection... If they're not doing any harm to anybody else I don't care what you believe in or anything.

R2: I mean you smile at them, that's all we can do, to try and integrate them. (FG8 White residents)

The world of work

Rhetoric around the theme of 'they're stealing our jobs' is much aired by particular media outlets. To a certain extent these sound bites appeared to have permeated into some participants' consciousness regardless of whether or not they had personal knowledge of 'British jobs' being lost to NMW.

R1: We have newspapers, we have televisions, we have internet. We read all these things and people make the decisions through that.

R2. I wouldn't say we know personally. Probably what we've seen on the news... (FG8 White residents)

This resonates with the experience of the trade union key informant we interviewed. When speaking about another part of the region, he outlined the resentment of some established community members towards NMW who they regarded as causing increased job competition and a loss of local employment opportunities.

The Poles come in and it meant its kind of dislocating the community in [place name] a bit. Because it means that the British people are having to go elsewhere for jobs. So they are leaving and there is that resentment. It was actually, I spoke to people from [place name] and said that that's the place the BNP could probably do quite well. But realistically anywhere in the north because of the way the jobs have gone and also because the north tends to be whiter.
(K16 trade union)

However, members of the white focus group were very mindful of being labelled as 'racist' and felt this sometimes shuts down opportunities for dialogue and the candid airing of grievances.

I think people are frightened to say what they think or feel because they are frightened they are going to get labelled a racist. I don't think people are racist. To me like I say I don't care where you're from, what you do, what you worship, what you dress in. I don't care if you're sky blue with pink dots all over you. I'm not bothered. We're all human. Everyone should be treated [treated] the same.
(FG8 White residents)

One participant in the white group began by describing how he could no longer secure employment as a bar-chef after being under-cut by NMW. In line with findings in

Mackenzie and Forde (2006) this respondent spoke of the willingness of NMW to engage in unrecorded over-time, thus effectively undermining the Working Time Directive and minimum wage levels. In spite of this, he still appreciated the wider benefits of the influx of NMW into the country.

Even though it's coming across as negative for me, because my job is worth less so I'm less employable. I come from Lincolnshire which is extremely rural. The Kosovans, the Europeans ... they do the piecework, they work in fields. They work really hard, really long hours for little pay. And when we go to the supermarket and we pick up a cabbage and its 40p and not 80p we're not complaining... We cannot survive if it wasn't for people doing those jobs.... You get a lot of British people moan about them coming in and taking over the jobs but if they got off their backsides and did it themselves there wouldn't be as many coming to take the jobs.
(FG8 White residents)

The Pakistani groups in particular also believed that their chances of securing employment had been reduced following the arrival of labour migrants from Europe. They believed that NMW were willing to accept lower wages (often below the minimum wage) which are only sustainable because of ongoing wage differentials between Britain and the new migrants' countries of origin and also as they often live in multi-occupancy housing. The Pakistanis are then undercut in the labour market as they are unable to accept such low wage levels.

R1: We are not able to get work because of them. Where we go for jobs, they come first they get the jobs.

R2: They work for less money and they can manage on less money and it's very difficult for us to work for less money. They work for less than the minimum wage.... With them living in shared houses they can work for a low wage. (FG6 Pakistani women)

Like most of our kids can't get a job and these people do a job for £3 an hour, £2 an hour, £4 an hour... like other kids born in this country they won't take job for £4 ... these people are taking their jobs. (FG5 Pakistani men)

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES AND NEW MIGRANTS

Data presented in this section emerged predominantly from the interviews conducted with new migrants and established communities. The service provider groups also provided the opportunity for public sector staff to share their experiences and observations regarding the interactions that occur between established communities and NMW.

Positive interactions

A notable feature of this research is the positive way in which the West Indian focus group talked about the recent arrival of A8 migrants. Members of the West Indian focus group were, on the whole, far more positively disposed towards A8 migrants than their counterparts in both the Pakistani groups and the white group. When discussing the arrival of new migrants in their neighbourhood (with the exception of some particular concerns about schooling and healthcare) the West Indian participants talked extensively about tolerance and the acceptance of newcomers. Four of the West Indian participants had

themselves been economic migrants to the UK in the 1950s and much of this sentiment seemed to emanate from a shared memory of once being a migrant themselves. The West Indian group reported that they mixed with NMW in their neighbourhoods (on the streets, in shops etc) and in a more grounded way through the West Indian community centre. European migrants of various nationalities had hired rooms in the centre for events and the West Indians saw these interactions as positive and an opportunity to learn a little about the culture and customs of the new arrivals.

...and especially in the centre, we accommodate new people... and you see them come in and they are very happy enjoying themselves and we go in and have a look at them. I think it's a good thing that we've got a centre to accommodate them.

(FG8 West Indians)

This is illustrative of the way in which sheer proximity between different groups may lead to positive encounters. Evidence such as this counters arguments about 'parallel communities' living segregated lives whilst occupying the same geographical space. Some participants in both the Slovak and Polish groups also spoke of having good neighbours and exchanging Christmas cards with people who lived in their street. One Roma participant described having an English neighbour who became a friend through chatting to her and helping her practise her English. Others spoke of activities for their children providing spaces for interaction with established community members.

My wife is going with the neighbours to some child place...they will be going together. Nursery. (FG2 Polish men)

Aside from the positive interactions noted above members of the Pakistani and White focus groups should not be regarded as openly hostile to the NMW who had recently arrived in their neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, the data presented in the next section highlights two main issues. First, members of more established Leeds communities have a number of concerns in respect of A8 migration to the city. Second, some NMW have experienced hostility from certain individuals within the wider population.

Tensions and problems

This section of the research contains a range of responses that reflects the diversity of groups that were interviewed. Within the fieldwork, discussions concerning tensions and problems between NMW and established communities were far more frequent than the more positive interactions highlighted above. These tensions seem to emanate first, from observational and emotional responses to NMW from established groups, and second, from more grounded experiences of neighbourhood interaction from both NMW and established communities groups.

The perception of NMW receiving preferential treatment from service providers (see Chapter 6) is prominent in the public's imagination (Robinson, 2007). This formed a strong theme within the White focus group that suggests resentment and touches upon notions of belonging, identity and 'Britishness' that are often confronted in environments of greater cultural, religious and ethnic plurality (Soysal, 1994; Weiner, 1995).

If there is only a pot so big ... people whoever comes into this country are paying taxes, doing what they should be doing then they deserve the same benefits when they need it as we. But

it is perceived they get more then we feel we are ignored. If we feel we're being ignored then we're going to make a stink about it. Because that is when we start thinking, it's our country, they shouldn't be here. I don't think it's because of racism. I think it's because we are British. (FG8 White residents)

Two of the service provider participants corroborated this concern through their own experiences of working with new migrants and established communities. They were concerned about the yawning gap between people's perceptions and reality (Robinson and Reeve, 2006).

Yeah, there's a perception that newer migrants are given preferential treatment. They think they get new houses, central heating immediately. And this is fuelled by the media. The issue of established minority communities being particularly against the NMW has come out in conversations that I've had. They seem to be quite vociferous - concerns that they seem to get more than we do etc. (SP2 Adult social care)

I think underlying tension still there... that 'they're getting more than I am' thing. Do we bust some of those myths? In 5-10 yrs time if it keeps bubbling maybe there will be problems.

(SP2 Asylum/migration services)

The Polish community worker interviewed also commented that resentment can emerge in areas of high unemployment if Poles are seen to be working. This suggests the importance of being aware of the embedded and very real socio-economic disadvantages and

structural inequalities in local labour markets that may affect some established communities (Zetter *et al*, 2006; Learning and Skills Council, 2007).

We had a problem, when Poles are very often put in areas, predominantly white area but where the white people are unemployed. And seeing a Pole working hard, for example, buying house, they feel jealous.
(K13 Polish community worker)

A white participant also wondered where these spaces were that could supposedly facilitate positive interactions as he went on to question the very notion of 'community'.

There's very little sense of community anywhere you go. So where is the place you go to meet the other people, the people that you are talking about and where are you going to communicate with them and where are you going to find common ground?
(FG8 White residents)

The Pakistani men's group, alongside the White group, briefly commented on problematic new migrant behaviour within their neighbourhoods. A white respondent argued that the arrival of new A8 migrants had possibly increased crime rates.

However, it needs to be stressed that this study found (in line with many other reports, e.g. ICoCo, 2007) that A8 new migrants were far more likely to be victims rather than perpetrators of anti-social behaviour and harassment. All the new migrant groups were concerned about the issue of youth behaviour in their neighbourhood (often related to perceived alcohol abuse), and felt particularly vulnerable as newcomers to the area.

When we have been here only two weeks, my son was playing outside and when other kids found out that he cannot speak English they stole his ball and kicked him. Those kids then broke our window. When we complained to our landlord, he said that there's no law against unruly children.
(FG1 Slovak)

The only problem is teenagers. Youth. They gather together on the street. That's why they should ban the drinking alcohol. And the drugs. The other people are fine, but the youngsters between 10 and 16 are actually worst. (FG2 Polish men)

R1: The problem is with the teenagers.

R2: Police did not do really anything about it. My friend had a brick through his window, just missed his daughter, ran outside. The police took two hours to come. We called about four times.
(Roma 1, son)

The anti-social and criminal behaviour of youths in neighbourhoods, combined with the recent tragic murders of two Polish women in Leeds, caused heightened levels of fear amongst NMW whilst in the public sphere. Women particularly seem to feel this fear acutely whilst moving through certain areas. Such fears were also observed by an employer with regard to journeys to and from workplaces.

Q. Do you feel safe in Leeds?

R1: Not exactly. Especially after two murders on Polish girls. Definitely not. I am frightened of Leeds. I felt safer in Dorset and in Poland. Crime, guns and knives. People do not respect each other.

R2: Now I work and live in the city centre, but before when I lived in [place name] it was important not to look at other people, passing them by. We have got that warning from other Polish people - don't look in their faces if you are in bad neighbourhood, because it will get you in to trouble.
(FG3 Polish women)

Generally speaking there is no feel of safety in [place name] at night time. [Place name] is not safe. I was beaten here.
(FG1 Slovak)

No and they are a little bit frightened. We've had some incidence of, erm, racial victimisation. So they don't like walking. They don't feel safe walking.
(KI4 logistics/distribution company)

A final issue in this section that is said by an employer to cause disquiet amongst NMW is a neighbourhood 'protection racket'. The extent of this practice is hard to determine, yet the disturbing consequences for newcomers are not hard to imagine.

R. We provided accommodation in [place name] which is not the safest area of Leeds and there were some issues with someone trying to obtain money from our workers.

Q. Deception, trying to get money off them? Extort money from them, take money from them?

R. Someone knocked on the door and said, I own this district. You will need to pay me to be safe here. (KI1 recruitment agency)

Prejudice and discrimination

Several issues arose regarding the relationships between, and

perceptions amongst, NMW and established communities that indicate prejudice and discrimination among the host community. A Roma participant revealed initial prejudice from white English neighbours on account of the Roma's dark skin.

Yes we have got good neighbours, now we have lived here two and a half years. When they find out we are Europeans they fine with us. First they think we are Muslim. When they [the neighbours] find out I'm from Europe and Christian it's fine.
(Roma 1 daughter)

Likewise, a Polish woman spoke of prejudice that she believed South Asians directed towards non-Muslims.

I live in a council flat so it is mainly Pakistani area. There are no English people and I try not to mix in such an environment because they are prejudiced [towards non Muslims]. If you are not Muslim — you are different.
(FG3 Polish women)

A related perspective emerged from the same focus group; namely that racism against white Europeans is largely unrecognised and hard to protect against in the current legislative environment.

It is not only language. Being foreigner puts you in a worse position. My friend has similar experience. English people are scared of black people. Black people can take you to court and say that you are racist. You don't have this problem with Poles, so Polish people are now on the end.
(FG3 Polish women)

A different opinion, however, was articulated by a Pakistani man who

feels that integration issues for new European migrants were not as pressing as for his own Asian community.

The main point is that we have been here for a half a century but have still not mixed; it involved many cultural and religious things which can't be ignored. Likewise Eastern European doesn't have much cultural difference so their interaction with the native people is easier because they don't have much cultural difference. It is hard for Asian people but easy for them. Sometimes because of the colour of the skin we can't tell whether a person is English or Polish unless the person speaks. (FG5 Pakistani men)

Barriers to mixing

Language is, perhaps unsurprisingly, a much articulated reason for a lack of neighbourhood mixing amongst NMW and established communities groups (Audit Commission, 2007).

Language is a problem which is preventing interaction and interrelations. (FG5 Pakistani men)

Polish people attract other Polish people, so it is difficult to mix with others. (FG6 Pakistani women)

The big issue right now is the language. And this is the most important thing. (K3I Polish community worker)

Whilst the authors of this report would not wish to support the more sensationalist claims of 'parallel' lives, or communities 'sleepwalking into segregation'; this research has revealed concerns from particularly

the Pakistani community and Roma NMW about lack of mixing between different ethnic groups despite living in close proximity. Some of this seems to be due to language barriers, and some the result of tensions and prejudice as evidenced in the previous section. This has led, for example, to Roma participants stating that they do not mix with local people (although they would like to) because they fear trouble if they go to local youth clubs and enter particular public spaces.

R: We are getting mixed as they are living the same place but they are not mixing up.

Q: So you are in the same physical space but you are not sharing the same communal space?

R: Yes there is segregation within the street. (FG5 Pakistani men)

The trade union key informant further touched upon a possible *desire* for group insularity amongst recently arrived Poles. A Pakistani woman similarly observed that this is possibly not unusual behaviour for any newly arrived migrant community.

The Polish tend to be quite insular. Its not uncommon for us to speak to somebody who has got nigh on perfect English but always told they can't understand us. (K16 Trade union)

I think they stick to their own little groups. Like with all new communities they stick to their own with people they know. (FG6 Pakistani women)

Having noted that observations of partial 'parallel lives' came particularly from the Pakistani groups, it should be recognised that

the Pakistani women's group was enthusiastic about getting to know their new neighbours better and suggested a way of achieving this through a community 'open day'.

R1: We need to know about their problems to understand and know the Eastern Europeans. We need to understand their daily life and what their problems are in order to mix and live together.

R2: How can we mix? Like having a day where people from all religions get together... open day.

***R1: Yeah, we should meet and find out what happens in their religion and tell them what happens in our religion.
(FG6 Pakistani women)***

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has explored the state of neighbourhood and community relations between established communities and A8 NMW. Key findings of this chapter are;

- An important aspect to emerge from this chapter is that the term 'established communities' is composed of multiple different groups/actors and therefore contains a diversity of experiences rather than any unified opinion. In the context of the research, this is especially the case with regard to the West Indian group being far more positively disposed towards the arrival of NMW in their neighbourhood than the Pakistani and White groups.
- The term 'new migrant communities' also needs to be differentiated. This research has found more similarities than differences amongst the new migrant groups in terms of their

common experiences of interaction with established communities. For many of them exposure to harassment and prejudice, particularly from anti-social youths, is a somewhat unifying feature of everyday life for the NMW in this research.

- Sheer proximity between different groups may sometimes lead to positive encounters. This counters arguments about 'parallel communities' living segregated lives whilst occupying the same geographical space. Some evidence of positive interactions were found through the usage of shared spaces such as community centres. However, considerably more discussion centred around tensions and the lack of mixing so there is a need to facilitate greater interaction to enable myth busting, shared cultural learning and the building of positive relations.
- Members of more established Leeds communities have a number of concerns in respect of A8 migration to the city. There were genuine concerns expressed around competing for jobs which need to be addressed through breaking down assumptions about NMW and opening up opportunities for interaction between established and new migrant communities. Concerns also existed around NMW receiving preferential treatment from service providers. However, this research found, (see Chapter 5), that while some areas of services were experiencing increased demands, such as maternity services and education, overall NMW were not accessing services in any great numbers.
- Some NMW have experienced hostility from certain individuals within the wider population and, in line with other studies (e.g. ICoCo, 2007), this research

found that A8 new migrants were far more likely to be victims rather than perpetrators of anti-social behaviour and harassment. Anti-social and criminal behaviour of youths in neighbourhoods, combined with the recent tragic murders of two Polish women in Leeds, caused heightened levels of fear amongst NMW whilst in the public sphere. Women particularly seem to feel this fear acutely whilst moving through certain areas.

- This research has revealed concerns particularly from the Pakistani community and Roma NMW about lack of mixing between different ethnic groups despite living in close proximity. Some of this seems to be due to language barriers, and some the result of tensions and prejudice as evidenced in the previous section.

CHAPTER 5. WELFARE SERVICE PROVISION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores issues related to welfare provision and service delivery. Sections within the chapter variously discuss housing, healthcare, education and social benefits. The discussions below illustrate the ways in which A8 migrants meet their welfare needs alongside a consideration of how this new wave of labour migration has impacted on both service provision and established Leeds communities. Additionally, two further key concerns of participants are highlighted. First, a lack of coherent and consistent data in respect of the diverse population of newly arrived A8 NMW was signalled by service providers. Second, a more general concern around issues related to English language proficiency is discussed.

MEETING THE HOUSING NEEDS OF NEW MIGRANTS

The majority of new migrants interviewed typically live in inner city areas in privately rented properties. Initially, many live in housing provided by the employment agency that has contracted them to work in the UK. They often leave this accommodation quite rapidly preferring to seek out alternatives that are cheaper and/or of a higher standard in more favourable areas.

I came here in 2005. The flat was shocking 3 rooms for 12 people. We were on top of each other. We suffered in such conditions for 3 months. Then we started to rent a house through [a housing] agency. We've lived there for

over 2 years. 4 of us, 4 rooms, a big space at the back, small garden in front. We have garage as well.
(FG3 Polish men)

We found our original house through a friend, but there were too many people there so we found our own house through a Pakistani landlord but we didn't like the area, it was too noisy and rowdy. Now we live in [place name]. It's ok, we have a garden, it's clean and very quiet. (FG1 Slovaks)

I was recruited in Poland. My employer provided the house. It belonged to the company, a shared room in a house. It was horrible. 11 girls in 1 house and 1 bathroom, 5 bedrooms. I moved out as quick as I could. Now I rent from a private landlord. (FG4 Polish women)

In contrast to Polish and Slovak participants, the three Roma families we interviewed lived in council accommodation. Although this is not generally the case, previous research with Roma in Leeds found that the majority of participants lived in private accommodation in extremely poor, over crowded conditions and suffered from high housing turnover (Travellers Health Partnership, 2006). Two of the families in our study lived in overcrowded conditions. A mother and son shared a two bedroom flat whilst their sister, who had a serious health condition, slept on the couch. Elsewhere, following the arrival of a new grandchild, three generations of one family lived under one roof. Whilst the tenant's daughter and her baby were waiting to be re-housed her teenage brother and younger sister shared a bedroom. The council

have assessed the situation and deemed it a priority case. However, the daughter believed it was 'going to be a long wait' (Roma 2 daughter). She ruled out private rented housing due to the expense and low standards; a view echoed by the third Roma family we interviewed.

Son: We prefer this city council house. The private house in Bradford had mice and was £500 per month whereas the council is £200.

Mother: When we got this house I was crying. Tell the council thank you, thank you, for this house [she repeats this as we leave to emphasise her gratitude]. (Roma 3)

Relatively few new migrants are housed in social housing/council accommodation. Indeed, the evidence suggests that many new migrant workers have problems accessing such accommodation due to the general shortage of social housing stock and long waiting lists¹⁰.

Often Poles live in occupational housing. Quite often obviously the landlords are neglecting them... At the same time the system for accessing public housing, a council house, is difficult. I know a number of Polish people have a problem with that... Poles feel that the council overlooks their problems quite badly.
(K13 Polish community worker)

We are trying to get from the council for nearly 3 years now. They didn't have any free ones. (FG3 Polish men)

¹⁰ New migrants are generally not entitled to apply for social housing until they have been resident for 12 months in the UK; however, all applications are based on a needs assessment carried out by the provider. and they can present themselves earlier if the circumstances permit.

The impact of A8 migrants on housing provision in Leeds

In three of the four focus groups with established Leeds communities there was a common view that the influx of A8 migrants had increased housing costs due to extra new demand for cheap privately rented accommodation and the finite supply of this type of housing.

Houses have got more expensive because of them. Prices of houses have risenThe rented houses that you can get are much higher, rent is more expensive.

(FG2 Pakistani women)

R2: It is like when we first came to England back in the sixties. Its history is repeating itself... There were problems then but not as severe as now. Now there are 10 people living in one room, so health issues as well... the big problem is housing, house prices are rising.

R3: To summarize, new migrants wherever they come from bring additional demand into the area. In order to meet those demands in the community, more resources are required from Central Government, City Council or whoever?

ALL: Yes that's right, Yes. Yes. [General agreement]. *(FG5 Pakistani men)*

Rent is going up...a lot of private landlords, getting on the band wagon. *(FG8 West Indians)*

Whilst increased housing costs in the private sector were an issue for many, within social housing a key concern among the research participants was the potential for housing issues to fuel resentment between established communities and newly arrived migrants. At the heart of this were perceptions about the ways in which housing is allocated to clients within a situation where demand routinely outstrips supply.

There is a perception that if you come in as an immigrant group, and the A8s are a big group at present, then you will get preferential treatment for services ...If we could build new houses I don't think we could build enough to meet demand without the additional pressure of people coming into Leeds. This causes a lot of conflict If the son/daughter of someone who has lived on an estate for 20 years can't access a property it breeds resentment and frustration... Many of the emails I see about discrimination are usually people perceiving it [the letting system] as an unfair process. Ultimately this is because housing goes to the person with most priority, based on housing need; homelessness, overcrowding, children etc.

(SP1, Social housing provider)

The issue of new A8 migrants placing additional demands on already limited resources and the rules by which those resources are allocated were a key concern among White residents interviewed in FG6.

R2: Some [new migrants] moved into the estate where I am.... But there were a few of the families that were a bit narked off because you were seeing all these vans turn up and they were

getting the houses totally kitted out. It caused a bit of an atmosphere, to put it nicely. Some of the families were a bit, 'OK they've come over with nothing but why are they getting everything straightaway.

R1: You seem to hear an awful lot about it. Yes I think what she says is right.

R2: What was annoying people near me was the fact that you had like Hotpoint lorries turning up. Then we found out talking to them, 'yes the council have got all this for us'.

R4: They were getting that provision from the social, the council and everything but anybody else from here, from England, was getting told, take your little social grant or whatever and buy second hand.

(FG6 White residents)

Further discussions revealed that the newly arrived migrants in question were not A8 migrants. Nonetheless, the above data is important for two reasons. First, it is indicative of a widespread lack of knowledge about the rules that govern A8 migrants' access to welfare provisions and the fact that the overwhelming majority enter to work. Second, it is illustrative of the way in which access to, and the allocation of (at times) scarce welfare resources can breed resentment among established residents who perceive that their needs are secondary to those of new arrivals. Such discussions should not be dismissed as simply racist, the participants in FG6 were articulating opinions based on the idea of welfare rights being linked to prior contribution and with preference being given to those who have previously contributed via paid work.

R2: I don't care what colour, creed anybody is..... But it does seem sometimes to be a little bit hypocritical. When you've got so many things over here already that the government won't help with

R4: All the tax that people have paid from this country...That will only hold so much won't it [pointing to cup]. If you start trying to take more and more out of it, you can't because its not there. Why should we support all these people, when we've got plenty of our own people to support?

(FG6 White residents)

A8 migrants have clearly had an impact on the costs and availability of private housing in Leeds. However, at present their overall effect in relation to social housing appears to be limited. For example, language data provided by Aire Valley homes indicates that their biggest single group of A8 clients are Polish but these make up only 0.04% of overall clients (AVHL, 2008). The reality is that very few A8 NMW are likely to have sufficient housing needs priority to qualify for social housing (ICoCo, 2007b). Evidence indicates that less than 1% of social rented lettings across England are allocated to A8 nationals (Robinson, 2007). Tackling some established residents' misconceptions about who is eligible for social housing and the ways in which accommodation is allocated is a more pressing concern.

HEALTHCARE

Most new migrants were registered with local doctors and those that had used hospital services were generally satisfied with their treatment. All the new migrant groups and several key informants that participated in the study,

however, frequently reported differences in routine medical policy and practice compared to their homelands. Issues highlighted included a lack of access to hospital doctors, long waiting times to see GPs and the reluctance of British doctors to prescribe antibiotics.

In Poland you can buy antibiotics over the counter. Also in Poland the system is you can go to A&E - for any complaint. Even for mild things you go to the hospital (SP2 Care services)

R2: The doctors here are not good. For fever they prescribe Paracetamol.

R1: And you are ill, have a fever and you have to ring for appointment. You can't see a doctor for days....

R3: In our country if I'm ill I can go to doctor and be seen. (FG1 Slovaks)

Doctors don't do anything. They only give painkillers... it's like 'you've chopped your arm off? It's ok, here you have some Paracetamol. (FG3 Polish men)

The health service is 100% better in Slovakia. You see the same doctor each time, you can just call in and access to doctors is better. (Roma 2 daughter)

A limited impact on healthcare services?

A migratory movement as significant as the recent influx of A8 migrants into the UK is bound to create some

additional demand for healthcare services in host communities. The level of demand from A8 migrants, however, may be significantly reduced by two factors. First, many migrant workers are young and relatively fit. Second, it was consistently reported that the majority of A8 migrants prefer to return to their country of origin for healthcare services whenever possible. This offers new migrants the possibility of accessing more familiar, and in their view, more appropriate treatments more quickly.

When we go home on holidays we all see doctors, especially the dentist. (FG1 Slovaks)

R1: When I go to Poland I always have four visits; to the dentist, the doctor for me and with my kids and the gynaecologist.

R2: Like all Poles. We go to Poland to seek medical treatment.

R3: I went to the doctor here and he advised me to take Paracetamol 4 times a day. So next week I am going to Poland to see a specialist. (FG4 Polish women)

In contrast to housing (aside from one participant who complained that new migrants had led extended the time spent waiting for GP appointments), members of the established Leeds communities had little to say about the impact of A8 NMW on healthcare provision. Several participants, however, noted that maternity services were one area where the relatively young population of A8 migrants may be leading to some new demand; an issue that has been noted elsewhere

(ICoCo, 2007a). This particular issue was highlighted by an employer and a service provider.

Although they still go back for medical care. They believe its better. The vast majority of them still go back for dental care, for any operations because they believe its better and they don't have to wait so long. They can basically ring up and get in hospital next week... [not for] births. That's not the sort of thing you can catch a plane, go home, have your child and get a plane back. But certainly minor operations
(K15 logistics/
distribution company)

We have maternal birth figures from 2005, just after the influx, and Polish numbers are looking a bit higher. Single males aren't as likely to impact on our services. But worryingly with transitory groups there's no consistency in pre/post-natal services, or child healthcare services. We haven't seen a massive influx. It could be a reluctance to register with children's services or perhaps they are more likely to go to A&E?

(Primary Care Trust, SP2)

The above comments were further endorsed by a member FG8, the West Indian focus group, who had direct experience of working in the Leeds hospitals.

Within the hospitals, I used to do a paediatric clinic there, the influx of Eastern European children coming through for blood tests was quite high and then there were loads of young mothers coming through from Eastern Europe. Now because many of them had never ever been to an ante natal clinic or they'd turn up there and then

and say, 'I'm in labour'...That did put a strain on the maternity units here within Leeds...Because they didn't realise that they had to go to their GP, to be screened for everything that needs to be done... They'd just turn up and say, 'I'm having my baby.'
(FG8 West Indians)

Data from the study suggests that (in the short term at least), away from particular services related to childbirth, any additional demands for healthcare services may be offset by the widespread practice of A8 migrants returning home to access medical services. This kind of movement, where people exercise their rights as EU citizens to live and work in a host member state whilst simultaneously choosing to utilize their status as a national citizen of a particular European nation state, in order to access what they consider to be better healthcare services in their country of origin mirrors previous research with other EU migrant populations (Dwyer, 2001; Ackers and Dwyer, 2002). This manipulation of healthcare rights across time and space has obvious advantages for individuals but, potentially, more negative implications for national healthcare systems faced with a disjuncture between the location of claims for healthcare services and the country in which migrants work.

EDUCATION AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

Schools in Leeds are facing large numbers of new arrivals. For example, numbers at the City of Leeds school grew by 20% in 2005/06. (Central Leeds Learning Federation, 2007). Typically, the schools who are receiving the highest number of new arrivals are in some of the most deprived areas of the city. The emergent issue in education and children's services is

the need to develop a coherent education plan to meet the demands being placed on the schools system by the growth in new migrants' needing school places. (Central Leeds Learning Federation, 2007). One of the major difficulties derives from the problem of gathering data on current need and predicting future demands, an issue on which Education Leeds (which was represented in focus group SP3), is currently developing data.

On the whole, new migrants with school aged children expressed a general satisfaction with the service their children received; although some did indicate that they would like more information about how well their child was progressing. The harassment and bullying of A8 children was also highlighted in the data.

In our school we have Slovakian kids. They often hear from other kids that they should go back, they are not needed here, they stealing jobs from their parents. (FG4 Polish women)

One new migrant also spoke of being bullied in secondary school where some pupils had targeted her as an outsider. This resulted in her playing truant from school for a significant period and her parents, who knew nothing of her absence or the reasons behind it, being threatened with legal action.

Education and children's services: a significant local issue

Participants in the focus group convened with education and children's service providers highlighted strong evidence of the significant localised impact of A8 migrant families settling in Leeds

and the need to develop a more planned and resourced strategy. There is increasing pressure on schools to place children in education quickly and there is evidence that some schools, namely inner city schools with surplus places, are receiving the largest growth in A8 admissions.¹¹

We've got between 20-25% of children from Eastern European Countries over the last year, the school has grown from a predicted 320- 420 over the last year, with no money because these children came after PLASC. We have had to educate these children with no extra resources, and the majority of these children are Slovakian children with Romany backgrounds and they haven't been in school before or have had very little schooling and have had no English whatsoever. (SP3 School)

This respondent explained how they had to do something to meet this growing need;

We appointed a Polish teacher and Slovakian cleaners. We realised a couple could speak good English. We appointed them as dinner ladies and, since Christmas, as LSA's supporting children in class...There's a difference in taking 20 English children and 20 non English speaking Slovaks. Somebody needs to look at EMAG funding [English as a second language].... In the 1960s, I remember teaching Indians and Pakistani's who could not speak a word of English, these children cannot speak a word of English, we need extra resources. (SP3 School)

¹¹ New migrant children are offered places in undersubscribed schools and the requirement is to place them as quickly as possible. However children who identify themselves as travellers can request places in fully subscribed schools (SP3 Education Leeds).

We also work with new migrants and see about 40 families a week, three quarters are Roma gypsy from Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia...We're getting appointments two months in advance.... Every week we have a travellers' education session, us, sure start, home start, health visitors. So it is a big problem... We use interpreters everyday, but luckily we get them free of charge because we work within the council...We wouldn't be able to pay for them, we would have to try and struggle without them so we wouldn't be able to communicate properly.

(SP3 Children's centre)

The school noted above reported that 28 different languages were spoken by its pupils and that it had taken on an additional member of admission staff in the past year. The head teacher had tried to respond positively to the diverse needs of the community they served. Importantly many of the new migrant children accommodated in this school spoke very little English upon arrival, and had no or limited previous schooling, which placed additional strains on the school. In order to deal with this, they have worked in partnership with a range of services to be able to meet the needs of these children. For example, the school had worked in partnership with the Gypsy, Roma Traveller service.¹²

Echoing earlier discussions (see housing section above) another service provider highlighted the ways in which increased demand for school places by newly arrived A8 migrants can have a negative impact on wider community cohesion.

Any child that identifies themselves as a traveller can get places in schools that are over-subscribed...The schools

are in an incredibly difficult situation because we are telling the schools that they legally have to take these children and there isn't the funding...The way that travellers can apply for places in oversubscribed schools, and the way that Catholic schools have agreed to place children who identify themselves as Catholic even though places aren't available [causes resentment]. I suppose there are [local] people who can feel that they are disadvantaged by the fact that they haven't just moved into the area. (SP3 Education admissions team)

The allocation of secondary school places in the main goes to schools with surplus places. This does, however, create its own problems in terms of resources. As long as the funding lag relating to PLASC remains in place, a relatively small number of schools are carrying the major burden of meeting the needs of new migrant families. There is some evidence that a review of EMAG funding could be used to provide extra resources for schools placing A8 children. While these schools celebrate their diversity and have evolved good systems of support they are operating under significant additional demands which require a more effective resource and planning strategy. Another issue worthy of consideration is the possibility of tensions arising over the allocation of school places. In some areas the influx of A8 migrants has significantly increased the numbers of pupils applying for places in catholic secondary schools; this is a possible avenue for resentment between established residents and newly arrived migrants.

¹² Formally the Travellers Education Service.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

As previously noted A8 migrants registered with the WRS who are working in the UK have the right to access child benefits and tax credits on commencement of paid employment. Additionally, once they have been working continuously in the UK for a period of 12 months, with breaks of less than 30 days, they generally become eligible for income related (including out of work), benefits (TUC, 2007; CPAG, 2008; Pollard *et al.* 2008).

However, as discussions below illustrate, working out an individual's right to particular benefits can be a complicated and drawn out process for both the claimant and benefit administrator alike¹³.

The primary motivation of all A8 migrants within this study was a desire to access employment in the UK (chapter 2). Nonetheless, at the time of our fieldwork 5 of the migrants we interviewed were on benefits. Three were claiming incapacity benefit, (all having become ill following extended periods of work in Leeds), one was retired and a third was a single mother on income support. The retired pensioner aside, all expressed a strong desire to work if possible; a view exemplified by a young migrant who was keen to avoid accessing benefits and secure full-time employment.

I have not applied for benefits, I get 1 or 2 days work from the agency. Get very casual work. It's better for me; job centre would give me £60 a week, so it's better to pick up work where I can. I would sooner do casual work than claim benefits. I want a full-time job.

(Roma 3 Son)

All five of the A8 migrants reliant on social security had experienced difficulty in accessing the benefits to which they had a right. They recounted tales of having to repeatedly produce relevant documentation and of job centre staff appearing not to understand the regulations that applied for A8 migrants. The majority of these participants put their difficulties down to benefits staff lack of understanding of their entitlements rather than discrimination.

I had problems. The person who dealt with the benefits said that I was only entitled to get benefit after 2 years of full-time employment here but the European law states I can receive them after 12 months... Finally, I got help from the policeman. He helped sort everything out. (FG3 Polish men)

I registered with the WRS within 1 month of working in the UK and paid £100. I was working for 3 years before I got ill. So I was entitled. It took three months for incapacity benefits to come through. ... [we made] many visits to the office and no money.... It is more about the person who you get; if they care about your problems.

(Roma 1 Daughter)

I had no money. I did not get my SSMG. They said I had to pass the habitual residence test and needed my passport, wage slips and my WRS documents. I gave them all the relevant documents and then they wrote and asked for them all again. The Jobcentre didn't understand. I think there was a bit of discrimination going on. It was very stressful for me. I

¹³ Details in respect of welfare rights and benefits will be available on the Welcome to Leeds Website from June 2008 at www.leeds.gov.uk/welcome

got a not entitled letter. I went to CAB. Without them I wouldn't have got it. They resolved it in a week ... It was horrible, very difficult for me. I was in the later stages of pregnancy I had no money to buy stuff for the baby.
(Roma 2 Daughter)

This study suggests that the service provided by JobCentre Plus to the relevant A8 migrants needs to provide targeted staff training on the entitlements of A8 migrants and their families. Difficulties in communication may be one cause of the delay in people receiving benefits they were entitled to but it is important to note the above respondents all either spoke good English or were accompanied by an English speaker. In this case the lack of communication was less about language and more about awareness and other communication issues. However, participants' comments above about discrimination and 'the person you get' also suggest that service standards vary according to the ad hoc decisions that frontline staff make about the legitimacy of certain benefit claimants (Wright, 2003). Importantly, it would also appear that there is a need to provide more language support at benefits offices for claimants with limited English language proficiency.

TWO KEY ISSUES

Data

A common and pressing concern across the three focus groups with service providers was a lack of consistent and accessible data about the numbers, nationalities, ethnicities and locations of the A8 migrants who had come to settle in Leeds. Service providers regarded current data gathering practice as inadequate and were clear about the

problems that this caused in relation to their particular roles.

In order to alleviate any community tensions we need to know who the community is. And to be honest we don't have anything to tell us where there are clusters of migrant communities. (SP1 Community safety)

The main issue is to identify the schools so the support can be put in. A couple of years ago we began to think about this, we recognised that our ethnicity categorisations maybe needed improving.
(SP3 Education Leeds)

That's the issue for health care. We have no system to record the information. If there's no evidence then we can't say there are issues. We need to get systems in place to get information and argue for resources. We're not going to be taken seriously until we do that.
(SP2 Primary care trusts)

Put down the actual name of the A8 states. It's always just been 'European other'. Even Eastern European and Central European isn't really adequate.
(SP2 Adult social care,)

Such data issues are not limited to Leeds. National data on the numbers and locations of A8 migrants is at best patchy (Chapter 1). The use of the overall category 'European other' may also be problematic. At a local level some service providers in Leeds collect useful data that illuminates some of the impacts that NMW may have on particular areas of service provision. For example, the Police translation

service collect data on a clients' first language which gives some indication of country of origin, and the Education service also collects some data on school admissions by nationality. However, there is no systematic approach to gathering and sharing data according to nationality across all council services. This clearly hinders service providers who are attempting to identify and map changing local populations in order to best meet community needs.

Language

The language capabilities of NMW settling in Leeds were also an important theme for many of the participants in the study. For service providers a key concern was the additional demand for interpreting and translation services that had occurred following the arrival of A8 migrants and the impacts that this had on both staff time and budgets.

The Polish is a group that takes up some of our resources in the jobshops. ...certainly it has impacted on our workload. In particular areas about 20-25% are Polish. They are demanding in a sense, because of language barriers, but they are motivated in that they want a job. (SP1 JobShop)

From the police side the top 3 languages in requests for interpreters are Polish, Czech and Slovak. That's not what it was like 3/4 years ago. There are only a limited number of translators available for police to use, so there is obviously pressure on. There's increased demand for interpreters and that obviously takes up a lot of officers' time. (SP1Community safety)

We are constantly being told that there aren't any other resources and we have to take this on. (SP3 Education admissions team)

The importance of being able to communicate in English was also consistently highlighted by key informants and new migrants. Among the migrants interviewed there was a genuine enthusiasm for opportunities to learn English. For example

R1: I attend a school at the Pakistani Centre and I have positive experience. The teacher is Bengali and she is great.

R2: I also attend a college in city centre and atmosphere there is very nice. The teacher is English. In my group there are 3 Poles but other students come from different countries.

R3: I go to Park Lane College for a language course. I am very grateful and to LCC because they help with the cost of the course. I only paid £60 for 5 months. It's unbelievable. I could not find any cheaper course anywhere. (FG4 Polish Women)

Others had been less successful in attending classes, often due to the fact that classes were offered at inappropriate times for shift workers working long hours (see also, Spencer *et al*, 2007).

R1: We all have been under impression that the firm would arrange some English courses. We were given a list of phone numbers to call but two years later nothing has materialised.

R2: There were some classes, but we would have to pay, and they were through the day when we were asleep after the night shift. (FG1 Slovaks)

I had no time [for English classes] due to long factory shifts, 10 hour days. (Roma 1 Daughter)

Employers saw basic English was a necessary health and safety requirement. The majority of the companies we interviewed provided some opportunities for workers to improve their language skills. However, they also reported a reluctance on the part of some workers to spend time away from the production line attending English classes as this impacted negatively on take-home pay. Other problems were also evident. Improvements in English clearly made migrants more attractive to other employers and one company had withdrawn their English classes due to employees making use of their provision then exiting for better jobs.

I've been here two and a half years and we tried that in the past... What we found was that they learnt their English, we paid for it, and then they went... to somewhere else in the city that wasn't hotel work and they got more money. (K12 hotel/hospitality company)

The government has recently made it clear that English language proficiency will be a requirement for any migrant who wishes to settle permanently and take up British citizenship (BIA, 2008). Alongside this, in the face of an annual bill of £110 million for translation services, the Home Secretary has suggested that the way forward is for companies to provide language lessons for workers and for individuals to accept their

responsibility to learn the language, and where they can afford it, contribute to the cost (Revill, 2008). The thrust of current policy, therefore, means it is unlikely that substantial new funds will be made available from government to meet the increased demands for translation that service providers have noted above. That said, data from this study endorses the government's view that a lack of English language proficiency not only inhibits A8 migrants' ability to access appropriate work but it also acts as a significant barrier to wider integration.

We have migrants who are skilled in jobs but lack the ability to communicate, mechanics who can't say spanner... They can open a car and fix it but at work they need to understand things. There's a lack of provision as far as I'm concerned. Not a one year course but ESOL for work. (SP1 Jobshop)

R1: Most of our problems arise from not speaking English language. (FG1 Slovaks)

R2: Not speaking English is straight away separating us from other people. (FG1 Slovaks)

If language is not an issue they integrate and they've got [English] friends. (K11 recruitment agency)

English language proficiency clearly has resonance in the lives of A8 NMW beyond the world of work. Its role in promoting their well-being and wider community cohesion should not be underestimated (see also, ICoCo, 2007b).

CONCLUSIONS

Evidence from this study clearly illustrates that A8 NMW have had some impact on welfare service provision in Leeds. However, the impact that has occurred appears to vary across service sectors.

Housing

- Within social housing, although the impact of A8 migrants appears to be limited, they represent an additional demand in a sector that has long been under pressure due to a shortage of available properties.
- The majority of new migrants interviewed typically live in inner city areas in privately rented properties. Consequently, A8 migrants have clearly had an impact on the costs and availability of private housing in Leeds. However, at present their overall effect in relation to social housing appears to be limited.
- Significant concerns were raised by established communities about the impact A8 migrants have on private and social housing. There is a belief that an increasing demand for accommodation has pushed up prices in the private sector and, despite evidence to the contrary, that A8 migrants receive preferential access to social housing.
- Tackling some established residents' misconceptions about who is eligible for social housing and the ways in which accommodation is allocated is a more pressing concern.

Health

- The preference for A8 migrants to return to their country of origin for medical treatment acts to

alleviate pressures within the healthcare system, however, some sectors (e.g. maternity services) appear to be experiencing increased demand.

- The level of demand from A8 migrants may be significantly reduced by two factors. First, many migrant workers are young and relatively fit. Second, it was consistently reported that the majority of A8 migrants prefer to return to their country of origin for healthcare services whenever possible.

Education

- Regarding schools and children's services the participants reported that, in particular areas, the arrival of A8 migrants has created additional new demands for service providers.
- Education services could benefit from more effective data gathering and planning around the current and future resources needed to address the increasing demands being placed on schools. In particular the current PLASC system creates problems for funding new recent intake and EMAG funding does not sufficiently take account of A8 migrants needs.
- The allocation of secondary school places in the main goes to schools with surplus places. However this means that a relatively small number of schools are taking in the largest concentration of A8 migrant children.
- In some areas the influx of A8 migrants has significantly increased the numbers of pupils applying for places in Catholic secondary schools, this is a potential avenue for resentment between established residents and newly arrived migrants.

Data

- There is a lack of consistent and accessible data about the numbers, nationalities, ethnicities and locations of the A8 migrants who have come to settle in Leeds.
- At a local level some service providers in Leeds collect useful data that illuminates some of the impacts that NMW may have on particular areas of service provision. There is a need to develop a more systematic approach to gathering and sharing data according to nationality (and ethnicity) across public sector services.

Language support

- More generally, across all services, there has been an increased demand upon providers to supply interpreters to meet the needs of their new clients. Significantly, the extent of any new demands made on service providers, and how these may vary between particular services and/or localities are unlikely to be fully appreciated until a more systematic system of gathering localised data on NMW is established.
- Accompanying these new demands on interpretation services is a genuine enthusiasm and commitment on the part of new migrants to learn English.
- The thrust of current policy means it is unlikely that substantial new funds will be made available from government to meet the increased demands for translation. However, this continued lack of language proficiency not only inhibits A8 migrants' ability to access appropriate work but is also acts as a significant barrier to wider integration.

Perceptions of established communities

- There is evidence that some members of established Leeds communities believe that NMW get preferential treatment in respect of certain welfare services. This can cause resentment between established communities and their more recently arrived neighbours.
- In order to tackle this issue it may be appropriate for LCC to embark on a myth busting campaign within established communities. This would need to emphasise three points. First, that the overwhelming majority of A8 migrants enter the city to work. Second, that they pay taxes on the same basis as British workers and as such make a valuable contribution to the local and national economy. Third, that the rights of many A8 migrants to reside in the UK and access the full range of welfare benefits on a par with British nationals is dependent on activity in the paid labour market.

CHAPTER 6. KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The sudden, unexpected arrival of significant numbers of A8 migrants in UK cities following the expansion of the EU in 2004 took central government by surprise and presented local authorities with new challenges. A8 migration has led to an overall growth in economic migrants in the UK and also increased the diversity of resident migrant populations. A8 migration is one element within a wider and more complex pattern of migration into the UK that includes for example, new commonwealth migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. It should be recognised that many of the impacts of these new migrant populations, in respect of service provision and community cohesion, are felt most keenly within particular, local communities that are often relatively disadvantaged when compared to more affluent areas of the city. The allocation of additional resources to the specific localities where new migrant populations are present will be required if community cohesion is to genuinely flourish. The remit of this study was limited in that we were asked to consider specifically, the needs and impact of A8 migrants. Nonetheless, several of the findings and recommendations noted below have a wider resonance for other migrant groups entering and living within Leeds.

KEY FINDINGS

- The primary motivation underpinning the movement of A8 migrants to Leeds is a desire to access the paid labour market. However, escaping persecution in their country of origin also appears to be a factor for Roma migrants.

- It is increasingly difficult to identify a 'typical' A8 migrant. Among the NMW population resident in Leeds length of stay varied from a few months to permanent settlement. Similarly, although many migrants entering Leeds continue to be young single males, it would appear that there are increasing numbers of both family joiners and couples migrating together.
- A8 new migrant workers should not be considered to be directly competing with established communities for jobs in Leeds. They are currently filling labour shortages within particular employment sectors.
- There has been a substantial growth in the numbers of NMW employed within the companies interviewed and most of this growth took place over the last year.
- There is evidence of an employment hierarchy amongst the population of A8 new migrant workers in Leeds. It would appear that some Polish migrants enjoy a relatively advantaged position within the labour market when compared to their Slovak and Roma counterparts. This hierarchy relates to inequalities in social networks but also to language proficiency.
- Evidence exists that some employment agencies are not complying with legislation that requires them to provide paid breaks, holidays and redundancy pay.
- The study contains evidence of some positive mixing between A8 migrant communities and more established workers in places of employment. However, it is also true to say that there is a reluctance amongst certain sections of both the new A8

migrant groups and more established communities to mix and integrate within the workplace.

- Perceptions in relation to new A8 migrant workers varied considerably across the established Leeds communities who took part in this study. In general, members of the West Indian focus group were more positively disposed towards the arrival of new migrant workers in their neighbourhood than their counterparts in the Pakistani or White focus groups.
- Although differences exist between the A8 migrants involved in this study, all three groups related accounts of exposure to harassment and prejudice from certain sections of the established communities; particularly from anti-social youths.
- The arrival of A8 new migrant workers has had some impact on welfare service provision in Leeds. However, this varies across particular service sectors.
- The majority of new migrants live in inner city areas in privately rented properties. Consequently, A8 migrants have impacted on the costs and availability of private housing in Leeds. However, at present their overall effect in relation to social housing appears to be limited.
- There is evidence that some members of established Leeds communities believe that A8 new migrant workers receive preferential treatment in respect of certain welfare services such as housing. This perception can cause tension between established communities and newly arrived migrants.
- NMW highlighted their preference to return home to use

a range of health services; therefore, the impact on health services is uneven with some services such as maternity experiencing the increased demand.

- Education services have experienced an increased demand for school places from A8 new migrant families.
- Newly arrived A8 migrant children have largely been placed in under-subscribed schools, however this increased demand has led to a concentration of A8 children in a small number of schools which have received no extra resources in the short term.
- Catholic schools in the city have also witnessed an increased intake of new migrant children of Catholic background.
- The absence of a systematic approach to gathering and sharing data according to nationality across all welfare services clearly hinders service providers in their attempts to identify and map changing local populations to best meet community needs.
- English language proficiency appears to be a key factor in enhancing the integration of A8 new migrant workers.
- Increases in NMW have placed additional demand on the city's interpretation services with no extra resources being made available.
- New migrants are keen to learn English but there is a real shortage of available ESOL places within the city, and the timing and location of language classes also poses problems for some NMWs such as those employed on shift systems.

- The continued lack of language proficiency not only inhibits A8 migrants' ability to access appropriate work but also acts as a significant barrier to wider integration.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Data collection

- As a priority a range of agencies, including Leeds City Council (LCC), should work together to develop a systematic and open approach to gathering and sharing data on new A8 migrants across services. Service providers should routinely record residents' nationality/ethnicity/country of origin and first language.
- It may be appropriate, in the first instance, to concentrate the development of joint/shared data gathering on those services more immediately affected by the influx of NMW e.g. housing, education, healthcare, welfare benefits and community safety services. Service providers need to have basic information on the makeup, and changing character of the populations they serve if they are to meet clients' needs and currently this is not in place.

Welfare services

- The additional impact of A8 new migrants on specific welfare service provision, notably in relation to education and maternity services, needs to be recognised. In light of such impacts, funding structures need to be re-examined to take account of the gaps in resources. For example, PLASC¹⁴ and EMAG¹⁵ funding could usefully reflect these emerging needs.

Language and integration

- The central importance of English language proficiency in enhancing the integration of A8 new migrant workers needs to be recognised. A demand for accessible and affordable English language classes exists among A8 migrants. LCC and other service providers should explore ways of establishing partnerships with employers to develop appropriate English language training.
- A8 migrants have triggered additional costs for service providers in respect of translation and interpreting services. Whilst it is recognised that the stated long-term goal of national policy is to improve English language proficiency among migrant groups, in the short-term at least, additional funding should be provided to meet the needs of new A8 migrants for accessible information.

Community relations

- Service providers in the city need to understand that the local communities they service are changing and in recognition of this they need to engage in outreach work that actively seeks to include new A8 migrant communities in order to better understand and meet their needs.
- Service providers need to develop a better understanding of the diversity of perspectives present amongst the established communities in Leeds around the impact of new A8 migrants on their neighbourhoods. For example, tensions between A8 migrants and established communities are likely to emerge if more established residents

¹⁴ Pupil Level Annual School Census

¹⁵ Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant

perceive themselves as competing with the newly arrived A8 migrants for jobs and local resources/services. It is therefore important for service providers to work together to ensure 'good community relations' are maintained as these communities evolve. Interventions to create shared spaces for greater interaction are one important way of achieving this aim. The City Council should also develop joint working with employers to enhance opportunities for integration to occur in the workplace.

- Leeds City Council should take a lead role in developing a myth-busting exercise in local communities that receive large numbers of new A8 migrants. This myth-busting campaign should highlight four particular facts: the positive contribution that A8 migrants are making to the city's economy; their right as EU citizens to settle in Leeds; that A8 NMW are filling labour shortages within particular sectors of the paid labour market; and that they are not receiving preferential treatment in respect of certain welfare services.
- The somewhat common experience amongst new A8 migrants of exposure to harassment and prejudice from certain sections of the established communities, particularly from anti-social youths, needs to be recognised and appropriate action taken by relevant agencies.
- Leeds City Council and service providers need to acknowledge the limitations inherent in the general term 'new migrant communities'. Hierarchies in relation to employment opportunities and levels of need exist within, and beyond, the A8 migrant category.
- Finally, in order to move from a reactive to a pro-active and more planned approach to new migration, it will be necessary for service providers to engage in some degree of horizon scanning. In that, as this research highlighted, future flows of migration and the settlement decisions of existing A8 migrants will be shaped by socio-economic conditions the country of origin, the state of local and national labour markets and opportunities on offer in other European countries.

ANNEX 1

RESEARCH METHODS, QUESTION FRAMES, SAMPLE CONSENT FORMS AND PROJECT SUMMARY

Research Methods

Two basic principles, namely informed consent and confidentiality (Lewis, 2003) underpinned the fieldwork. A short introductory session preceded each interview/focus group. The research team were mindful of the potential for the interviews to cause discomfort or stress to some participants and time was spent prior to each interview to put people at ease. Interviewees were then given the opportunity to pose any questions or queries that they might have for the researcher and it was emphasised that they could withdraw from the interview at any time if they so wished. Immediately prior to interview an explanation of the project was offered to participants. The issues of informed consent and confidentiality were then outlined and respondents were asked formally to record their willingness to participate by filling in a consent form. Strategies to maintain anonymity included secure storage/restricted access to data and the removal of identifying locations and personal details from research outputs.

Where required, an appropriate interpreter was present at the interviews with new migrants and established communities. The interpreter then transcribed and translated the session. All new migrants and members of

established communities who took part in an interview received a £10 store voucher. Interviews were routinely recorded on audiotape and additional field notes were taken by the researchers¹⁶. Tapes were then transcribed verbatim and the resultant transcripts analysed using grid analysis (Knodel, 1993) and thematic code and retrieve methods, (Mason, 2002; Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). In line with the applicants' previous work, a Nud*ist 6 software package was used to assist this process.

The rest of this annex contains project information sheets, question frames and consent forms.

SAMPLE INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT

New Migrant Communities Research Project

This project has been funded by the Leeds City Council's Regeneration Service. The Research Team is based at the University of Leeds and Nottingham Trent University and the team members are:

Dr Joanne Cook
Professor Pete Dwyer
and Dr Louise Waite.

Project aims:

The project is focused upon examining the experiences and service needs of new migrant communities in Leeds, alongside investigating the impact that this new migration has upon established communities.

As part of this research we are carrying out the following research:

¹⁶ Originally the research team intended to conduct a single focus group with Roma participants and tape record the session for further analysis. However, this proved to be unacceptable to these participants because of previous experiences of discrimination and hostility in their country of origin. In order to include their voices in the study a compromise had to be made. Two members of the research team agreed to attend three separate interviews in participants' homes and take field notes rather than record the interviews.

- 4 focus groups with New Migrant communities, who migrated to Leeds from Central and Eastern Europe in the last five years.
- 3 focus groups with established communities mapping the Leeds areas of North West, North East and South.
- Key informant interviews with employers, employment agencies and trade unions working with new migrants.
- Half-day workshop with key service providers.

If you are willing to help us please contact Joe Cook on 01133437789 or email j.m.cook@leeds.ac.uk.

QUESTION FRAMES

FOCUS GROUPS QUESTION GUIDE: ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES

Introduction to the project

- Who we are
- What we are doing
- The interview process, 1 hour max, consent, anonymity, etc, via the tape.

Background to new migrants in community

- Are they aware of any new migrant communities living or working in their area?
- Where are the new migrants from?
- Do they live close to each other or are they spread all around in their neighbourhood?
- Do they have a sense of when they arrived and for how long they stay?

- What sort of impact have the new migrants had on your area?
- How, in what way, negative, positive indifferent.

Community relations/ cohesion issues

- What sort of relationships do you have with the new arrivals?
- How and to what extent do they mix with new migrants?
- What makes mixing difficult? Do different languages that make mixing difficult?
- Are there particular places/spaces where you come together?
- Schools, play areas, work, doctors, community centres, shops etc.
- If there is little mixing is this a problem?
- Have they experienced any problems, or hostility? How have they dealt with this?
- How has the new wave of A10 migrants impacted on established communities of shared origin? (e.g. Poles)
- What impact has the arrival of new migrants had on their neighbourhood?
- Generally, do you feel positive or negative about new migrants? Why? What makes you feel this way?

Local services/employment

- What impact has the arrival of new migrants had on their local service provision?
- Is there any sense that since the arrival of new migrants they feel that their needs have been marginalised?
- Do you feel any impact in terms of work opportunities?
- Given new migrants arrival, is there a need for additional/new levels/forms of support?
- What kinds of support?

- This project is going to report back to local service providers is there any particular message you would like us to take
- back... Are there three points you would like to emphasise?

FOCUS GROUP QUESTION GUIDE: NEW MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Intro

- Who we are
- What we are doing
- The interview process, 1 and a 1/2 hour max, consent, anonymity etc via the tape.

Migration Background:

- Why did they choose to come to Leeds? Work, family etc.
- How did they find out about Leeds, did they have links here already, via recruitment agencies, employers, family, social networks etc?
- How do you travel here?
- How long have they been here for?
- Have they migrated alone or with families? Future plans re-families joining?
- Where do you live, shared accommodation, rented house etc.
- How do they view this migration — temporary or permanent?

Migration Experience and Work:

- Could you describe your life since you come to Leeds?
- Did they have any support when they arrived?
- What was it like coming to a new place?
- Has their migration experience been a positive one?
- Have they encountered any difficulties?
- What expectations did they have and have these been fulfilled?

- Are they in work, what is this like? How are they treated, what kind of conditions, pay and hours do they work under?
- Did they expect it to be this way?
- Do they have any concerns regarding working life; are there things that could be improved?
- What kinds of qualifications do they have? Do their jobs utilise these qualifications and skills?
- Are they looking for new work?
- What are their perceived opportunities/barriers to getting 'better jobs'?

Community networks and wider community experiences:

- Could you describe your experience of living in Leeds?
- Do they mix with their neighbours/host community? (e.g. paid work, schools, local shops and services, informal situations etc.)
- What are their experiences with other residents in the area?
- Are they involved in their local neighbourhoods? Do they have children in the local schools etc.
- If you need help where do you turn to?
- How do they find out information about benefits, services, rights etc?
- Have they experienced any problems, or hostility? What? How have they dealt with this?
- Are they happy in Leeds, do they intend to stay?
- Do they feel safe in Leeds?
- How does their life here compare to back home?

Local services:

- What local service have they had contact with and what is their experience of these?
- Are local services able to meet their needs and their community's needs?
- Do they have unmet needs, what service/support would they like to

see in place? And how should this be provided/what format should it take?

- What housing experiences do they have? Is there a need for specific Support ditto for;
- Education,
- Health
- Welfare
- Childcare

This project is going to report back to local service providers is there any particular message you would like us to take back. Are there three points you would like to emphasise?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Introduction to the project

- Who we are
- What we are doing
- The interview process, 1 hour max, consent, anonymity etc via the tape.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How many A10 migrants do you employ?

- What percentage of the workforce are they?
- Do you have plans to recruit any more/reduce the numbers of A10 migrants you employ?
- Why?

2. How would you describe a typical migrant work you employ?

- (Key characteristics of the migrant work force: Age, gender, nationality, educational level, family status?)
- A range of nationalities or mainly one or two? which ones?

3. How do you recruit them?

- Self present/use employment agencies/ here or in C of O, do they arrive through general advertising campaigns? Word of mouth within migrant communities?

4. What kinds of work are they involved in here at THE COMPANY?

- Type of work they do, typical wage levels
- What kinds of contract are they on permanent, seasonal, temporary?
- Which sectors of PLM? Skill levels of the work they are involved in?
- Do they receive any training/induction?
- What type of training do they receive? Same as any other worker a specific package?
- Any in other more highly skilled sectors of THE COMPANY?

5. Why do you employ migrant workers?

- Fill gaps in your labour force? Can't get enough British workers?

IMPACT OF MIGRANTS

6. What impact do they have on your company?

- Are there any additional HR issues that they generate?
- What about language issues?
- Are you required to register them in any way with Local Authority/WRS?
- Do they present you as a company with any particular problems/issues?
- Do you get involved in other aspects of their lives e.g. providing contact to landlords or services they may need?

7. From the point of view of the Company, how do you find migrant workers?

- Reliable, unreliable, good bad the same as Brits or better

8. What impact would it have on the company if these migrant worker were not available?

9. What's your perception of the migrant workers intensions in terms of residence?

- Permanent, come and go, settling in the area

10. What's your experience in terms of the needs and lives of the workers you employ?

- Beyond the company
- Support infrastructure for recruitment and retention of migrant workers
- Do you think that any wider issues need resolving in respect of migrant workers?
- Relationships with other workers,
- Wider community support/relations
- Do they present any specific issues in terms of employment?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY WORKERS AND OTHER KEY INFORMANTS

Introduction to the project

- Who we are
- What we are doing
- The interview process, 1hour max, consent, anonymity etc via the tape.

Background

- What is your role here?
- What is the role of the centre in the community?

The experiences of the new Polish migrants to Leeds

- In your experience what is it about Leeds that attracts new Polish migrants? Why do they come here?
- What is the nature of this migration, permanent, short term, individuals, families?
- What kinds of support are in place for these new migrants? For example when they first arrive?
- What types of support is needed? What form should it take?
- What are the experiences of these new migrants? Do they experience any difficulties? (work, welfare, housing, health, language?). What are their most pressing needs?
- Are they accessing services? How is this? Is there need for targeted services? Do they need support to access services?
- What are the experiences of new migrants within local communities and neighbourhoods in Leeds?
- Where do new migrants tend to live? What are their housing conditions like?
- Do they have children in local schools; are there any issues around this?

The role of the centre

- What role has your centre played?
- Has this created any issues for your centre?
- Have you received any additional support?
- Are there models of good practice that we can learn from the Polish community's experience?

Impact of new wave of migration on the established community

- How has this new wave of migration been received by the established community? How have they reacted, have they become involved in developing support?
- Has it raised any particular issues, (e.g. resources, cultural ...)

- Is there any sense that since the arrival of new migrants they feel that their needs have been marginalised?
- Is there a need for additional/new levels/forms of support? What kinds of support?

This project is going to report back to local service providers; are there any particular messages you would like us to take back? Are there three points you would like to emphasise?

CONSENT FORMS

New Migrant Communities

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate box(es) and signing and dating this form

I confirm that the purpose of the project has been explained to me and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research

I give permission for the interview to be tape recorded by research staff on the understanding that all research outputs will be anonymised.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time.

I confirm the receipt of a £10 store voucher

| | | |
|--------------------|------|-----------|
| Name of respondent | Date | Signature |
|--------------------|------|-----------|

| | | |
|--------------------|------|-----------|
| Name of researcher | Date | Signature |
|--------------------|------|-----------|

Participant code number

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